

CENTRAL EUROPEAN MEDIEVAL TEXTS

General Editors

JÁNOS M. BAK, URSZULA BORKOWSKA, GILES CONSTABLE,
GERHARD JARITZ, GÁBOR KLANICZAY

Vitae Sanctorum Aetatis
Conversionis
Europae Centralis
(Saec. X–XI)

Saints of the
Christianization
Age of Central Europe
(Tenth–Eleventh Centuries)



EDITED BY GÁBOR KLANICZAY
TRANSLATED BY
CRISTIAN GAȘPAR AND MARINA MILADINOV
WITH AN INTRODUCTORY ESSAY BY IAN WOOD

VISIT...

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EUROPAE CENTRALIS

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VOLUME 6

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Series Editor

FRANK SCHAER

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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

CEMT does not need to be introduced any more, after the publication of five volumes, all of which were received positively by medievalists. Interest in the history of the region and the need for bi-lingual editions of its narrative sources are not less present today than they were twelve years ago, when the series started. However, the present volume—and the planned subsequent one—are different from the previous ones by containing not one or two texts, but presenting a kind of anthology of saints' lives from medieval Central Europe, and at some points entering more into philological details of the textual tradition than in the previous ones.

The selection of the lives in these two volumes aims at representing major venerated persons of the earlier Middle Ages. We have chosen for each saint one important legend not yet translated into English. In the present volume we publish six legends from the tenth and the eleventh centuries: those of saintly bishops, hermits and a holy prince—saints of the Christianization age. In the subsequent volume there will be seven more legends, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, with more saintly bishops, a holy abbot and three Hungarian royal saints.

The General Editors are most thankful to Ian Wood not only for his introductory essay but also for his continuous aid and counsel in the preparation of this volume. Financial help for the research and the publication in the framework of the project "Symbols that Bind and Break Communities – Communicating Sainthood – Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe Tenth-

Sixteenth Centuries," from the Hungarian National Research Fund (OTKA, No. 81446), is gratefully acknowledged.

The OTKA project has been an Associated Project to the international research project sponsored by the European Science Foundation "Symbols that Bind and Break Communities: Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities" (09-EuroCORECODE-FP-004 CULTSYMBOLS), and benefited greatly from this cooperation with Austrian, Danish, Estonian, and Norwegian colleagues.

Finally, three of the General Editors are bidding farewell to the readers of this series. We felt that it is time to rotate the board and therefore the oldest members, János M. Bak, Urszula Borkowska, and Giles Constable are handing over their place to younger colleagues who will join the group of Editors for the subsequent volumes of CEMT.

Budapest, Summer 2012

J.M.B. – U. B. – G. C. – G. J. – G. K.

ABBREVIATIONS

AASS	<i>Acta Sanctorum quotquot toto orbe coluntur &c.</i> Antwerp/Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1643–.
BHG	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica graeca</i> , 3rd ed.; François Halkin, ed., <i>Subsidia Hagiographica</i> 8 and 65. Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1957 and 1984.
BHL	<i>Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis</i> (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901; repr. 1992) and <i>Bibliotheca hagiogra- phica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Novum supplementum</i> , ed. H. Fros (Ibid., 1986).
CCCM	<i>Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaevalis</i> . Turnhout: Brepols, 1971–.
FRB	<i>Fontes rerum Bohemicarum. / Prameny dějin českých výchované z nadání Palackého</i> . Ed. by J. Emler. Prague: Grége & Dattel, 5 vols., 1873–93 (repr. Hildesheim &c. 2004).
MGH	<i>Monumenta Germaniae historica</i> . Hanover: Hahn, &c., 1840–.
DD	Diplomata.
SS	Scriptores.
SSrG	Scriptores rerum Germanicarum in usum schola- rum separatim editi.
MPH	<i>Monumenta Poloniae historica. / Pomniki dziejowe Polski</i> (Lviv, 1864–93, 6 vols. 1864–93). n.s. Nova series/ Series 2 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1946–).
MPL	<i>Patrologiae cursus completus, series latina</i> . Ed. by J.P. Migne. 221 vols. Paris, 1841–64.

- SRH *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. by Emericus Szentpétery. 2 vols. Budapest:: Typis universitatis, 1937–38, reprint Ibid: Nap, 1999.

Classical and Biblical references are given in the usual format.

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THE HAGIOGRAPHY OF CONVERSION

IAN WOOD

The tenth and eleventh centuries saw an explosion of documentation relating to the history of Central Europe. The chronicles of Widukind of Corvey and Thietmar of Merseburg have much to say about the eastern neighbors of the Ottonian Reich, as indeed does Adam of Bremen. The end of the eleventh century and early years of the twelfth would also see the writing of the first major historical narratives within Central Europe itself: those of Cosmas of Prague and of the so-called anonymous Gallus (*Gesta principum Polonorum*).¹ In some ways as remarkable as this material is a series of great hagiographical texts, which shed more focussed and thus in certain respects more revealing light on particular regions to the east of the Reich, above all Bohemia (with its centre at Prague), Poland, and the lands of the Prussians, to the east. These texts deal with great missionary saints, such as Adalbert of Prague and Bruno of Querfurt, and, in the case of the Lives of Wenceslas, with a ruler of a recently Christianized region, as well as with ascetics settled in such regions, men like Benedict and John (of the *Life of the Five Brethren*)—though these also intended to preach to the pagans—and Zoerard. From the texts concerned with Wenceslas and with his grandmother Ludmila we suddenly discover the thriving world of Bohemia which had hitherto been represented only by a few passing references in Frankish chronicles. From the Lives of Adalbert of Prague we learn not only about Bohemia, but also about the Poland of Bolesław Chrobry and about the territory of the Prussians, and we learn even more about Poland from Bruno of Querfurt's *Life of the Five*

¹ *Gesta principum Polonorum/ The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, translated and annotated by Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer, with a preface by Thomas N. Bisson, Central European Medieval Texts 3 (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2003).

Brethren,² which is also a significant source for Italy in the last years of Otto III. The Christianization of Hungary brings with it a further cluster of hagiographical texts, some of which are included in a subsequent volume of this series, but for the student of the early years of eremitism in the region the present volume includes the *Life of Zoerard* (which also provides a brief account of his disciple Benedict), and for the Dalmatian coast there is the *Life of Gaudentius of Osor*.

Although some of the texts concerned with Ludmila and with Wenceslas certainly did originate in Bohemia, the *Passion of Wenceslas* that concerns us here was written by a bishop of Mantua, Gumpold, and was dedicated to Otto II, though unfortunately we know next to nothing about Gumpold himself. The two major Lives of Adalbert of Prague were written in Rome (supposedly by Johannes Canaparius) and by Bruno of Querfurt,³ who was a relative of Thietmar of Merseburg and indeed distantly related to the Ottonian imperial house. Bruno was also the author of the *Life of the Five Brethren*. In other words, although these texts concern individuals active in Central Europe, several of the authors are either associated with the Ottonian court, or with the city of Rome, or indeed with both. On the other hand, Bruno wrote or rewrote major works while in Poland.⁴ In addition, the tradi-

² For recent commentary on Bruno's *Life of Adalbert* and his *Life of the Five Brethren*, Friedrich Lotter, "Die hagiographische Literatur im deutschen Sprachraum unter der Ottonen und Saliern (ca. 960–1130)," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. 4, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 273–521, at 327–31.

³ There were other Lives of Adalbert: Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Hagiographie polonaise entre XI^e et XVI^e siècle," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*. Vol. 3, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 179–202, at 185. For an edition of the problematic Aachen text, Jürgen Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag* (Essen: Klartext, 2005); for the question of its position in the hagiography of Adalbert, see Cristian Gașpar's introduction to his translation below at 88–90.

⁴ For Bruno himself, see, still, Heinrich G. Voigt, *Bruno von Querfurt* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1907), and Reinhard Wenskus, *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt* (Münster and Cologne: Böhlau, 1956).

tions concerning Adalbert's death came from the bishop's brother Gaudentius-Radim, who was present at the martyrdom, and who would subsequently become the first archbishop of Gniezno.⁵ Thus, while we need to be aware of the extent to which these works spring from Ottonian and Roman culture,⁶ some of them can also be seen to reflect the new Christian culture of Central Europe in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The extraordinary wealth of hagiographical material from central Europe in the tenth, eleventh, twelfth and thirteenth centuries is no secret, but the texts have received remarkably little study in English. There is a linguistic issue here. To begin with the hagiography that deals with Wenceslas and his grandmother Ludmila, the martyrdoms are recounted in both Latin and Slavonic texts, which therefore take many students of early medieval hagiography way outside their intellectual comfort zone.⁷ Since these texts are closely related, there has been extensive discussion of the order of composition. Particularly intense has been the debate over the date of composition of the so-called Christian Legend.⁸ In all these disputes the *Passion of Wenceslas* written by Gumpold of Mantua has received remarkably little attention, perhaps because it lacks some of the detail of the other versions of the story, although it retains all the major elements, and perhaps also because the florid

⁵ Gerd Althoff, *Otto III* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1996), 134.

⁶ For a list of the crucial hagiographical texts associated with the late Ottonians, see Althoff, *Otto III*, 34, with n. 46.

⁷ Marvin Kantor, ed. and tr., *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990), provides an extremely useful translation and discussion of many of the hagiographical texts dedicated to Wenceslas and Ludmila. See, too, *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita ab eo ipso conscripta et Hystoria Nova de Sancto Wenceslao Martyre/Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas*, edited by Balázs Nagy and Frank Schaer, with an introduction by Ferdinand Seibt, Central European Medieval Texts 2 (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2001), 177–209.

⁸ Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia*, 30–46, provides a survey of the debates up until 1990. See Ian N. Wood, *The Missionary Life. Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400–1050* (London: Longman, 2001), 188–94.

style does not make it the easiest of Latin texts to read.⁹ And yet it is a work by a named author, Gumpold, bishop of Mantua, and although we do not have precise dates for his episcopate, nevertheless, since the text was commissioned by Otto II, it can be placed firmly in the period between 955 and 983. It may not be the earliest of our surviving sources for Wenceslas, nor may it be the most revealing, but we can be sure of its authenticity, which makes it the safest point of departure for anyone wishing to study the Bohemian martyr king.¹⁰ Gumpold's text provides an account of Wenceslas's holy life, martyrdom and posthumous miracles; it also gives a very clear picture of the factionalism of Prague society, especially in its division into pro- and anti-clerical groups (a division which might equally be characterized as pro- and anti-Ottonian). Moreover, in its presentation of the saint's rule it constitutes an important contribution to the mirror of princes literature of the ninth and tenth centuries, and, being addressed to Otto II, it deserves recognition not just as one of several sources for the reign of Wenceslas, but also as a work of significance in Ottonian discussions of rulership. Indeed, the text bears comparison with earlier Lives of Carolingian rulers or with Asser's *Life of Alfred*.

The story of Wenceslas is not technically one of conversion. His family had already converted to Christianity in the days of his grandparents, Bořivoj I and his wife Ludmila.¹¹ The latter seems to have been an important influence on the young boy.¹²

⁹ Walter Berschin, "Realistic Writing in the Tenth Century: Gerhard of Augsburg's *Vita S. Udalrici*," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 129 (2005): 377–82, 377, presents Gumpold's work as an important witness of the cultural revival of the period, but without elaboration.

¹⁰ For an assessment of Gumpold, see Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 195–7.

¹¹ The most recent English account of the Christianization of Bohemia is by Petr Sommer, Dušan Třeštík and Josef Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia," in Nora Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and the Rus' c.900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 214–62, at 225–35.

¹² She is remembered in Gumpold, *Passio Venceslai*, 11, below at 46–7.

The saint's mother, Drahomira, was remembered as a pagan,¹³ and she may well have only converted at the time of her marriage. But both Wenceslas's father Spithněv and his uncle Vratislav had ruled as Christians before he came to power in 921. Vratislav had even erected a church dedicated to St George (it is a building that features significantly in the *Life of Adalbert*),¹⁴ just as Wenceslas himself built a rotunda to St. Vitus.¹⁵ There certainly were pagans in Bohemia, as there was also a thriving community of Jews, but the conflict between Wenceslas and his brother was not one between a pagan and a Christian. Bohemia may have been a community on the edge of Christendom, but its rulers had been Christian for two generations before Wenceslas's martyrdom in 935. The texts on Wenceslas, like those concerned with the killing of his grandmother, introduce us to a newly Christianized society, rather than to the actual process of Christianization.

The martyrdom of Wenceslas itself, and the role played by the martyr's brother and successor, Boleslav I, cast a long shadow, and one that is very apparent in the second of the two *vitae* presented here: that of Adalbert of Prague, a member of the aristocratic Slavník family, whose powerbase was in Libice. The *Life of Adalbert* goes out of its way to refer to the cult of Wenceslas,¹⁶ while the slightly later *Life of the saint* by Bruno of Querfurt claims that the massacre of Adalbert's Slavník relatives took place on the feast of the Bohemian king.¹⁷ Adalbert had trained in the Ottonian centre of Magdeburg in the 970s before being elevated to the Bohemian bishopric in 982. Despite his family connections and his training the Prague episcopate was a position he found impossible

¹³ Gumpold, *Passio Venceslai*, 11, below at 46–7.

¹⁴ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 19, below at 146–51.

¹⁵ Sommer, Třeštík and Žemlička, "Bohemia and Moravia," 235.

¹⁶ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 8, below at 114–6.

¹⁷ Bruno, *Vita Adalberti*, 21, ed. Georg H. Pertz, *MGH, Scriptores IV* (Hanover, 1841). See also: *Św. Wójciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot drugi napisany przez Brunona z Kwerfurtu: S. Adalberti Pragensis, episcopi et martyris, vita altera*, ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska, MPH n.s. 4.2. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969).

to handle, and in 989 he left for Rome, where he became a monk at the monastery of SS. Boniface and Alexius on the Aventine (later known as Sant'Alessio—the name that will be used in what follows, for the sake of brevity).¹⁸ In 993, however, his metropolitan, the archbishop of Mainz, Willigis, insisted on his returning to his diocese, which he did with a few companions from the community of Sant'Alessio, who became the core of a new community at Břevnov,¹⁹ a point which is left unconsidered by all Adalbert's hagiographers, and is indeed a curious omission, given that the author of the *Vita Adalberti*, which is the version of the saint's life and passion translated here, would seem to have been the later abbot of Sant'Alessio, John Canaparius, who even appears in the text as the recipient of a vision.²⁰ It was not long before the bishop decided that the burden of office really was intolerable, and he left for Rome a second time, in the winter of 994–5.²¹ The following year Otto III visited the papal city for his coronation.²² Once again Willigis insisted that Adalbert should return to Prague, but the latter was spared a return to his diocese, because of the conflict between the Slavník family and the ruling Přemyslids, which had culminated in the massacre of several of Adalbert's brothers at the hands of Boleslav II in 995.²³ In the Lives of Ludmila and of Wenceslas we see division within the ruling family; two generations later, in the Lives of Adalbert the fault lines lay between the Přemyslids and the Slavníks.²⁴ As a result of this, Adalbert was given leave instead

¹⁸ For Adalbert at Sant'Alessio, Bruno, *Vita Adalberti*, 13–4; see also Bernard Hamilton, "The monastery of S. Alessio and the religious and intellectual renaissance in tenth-century Rome," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 2 (1965): 265–310, at 286–8; reprinted in idem, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades 900–1300* (London: Variorum, 1979).

¹⁹ Hamilton, "The monastery of S. Alessio," 293.

²⁰ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 29, below at 172–6.

²¹ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 20, below at 150–3.

²² For Otto and Adalbert at this time, Althoff, *Otto III*, 91–9.

²³ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 25, below at 162–5.

²⁴ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 25, below at 162–5.

to preach to the Baltic pagans. He set off for the Prussians in the region of Gdańsk, where he was martyred on 23rd April 997.

The account of Adalbert's last days and martyrdom, as described in the *Vita Adalberti*, is almost liturgical. Indeed mass is a dominant image: it is celebrated soon after the saint had landed near Gdańsk.²⁵ At his next point of disembarkation the saint is assailed after preaching, while he still has a book in hand. An argument between missionary and the pagans ensues.²⁶ The following chapter recounts Canaparius's visionary premonition, back in Rome. On the next day, after the missionaries had completed a further celebration of mass and recitation of the psalms, a group of pagans seized Adalbert and his two companions, chained them, and then killed the martyr with a spear, the blood running purple from his wounds.²⁷ The echoes of the crucifixion, with the three figures on the hill, one of them with a spear wound, are unmistakable. No doubt the basic outlines of the story of Adalbert's last days were those recounted by the saint's half-brother and companion, Gaudentius-Radim. And they were adhered to in the two versions of Adalbert's passion written by Bruno, both of which drew heavily on the *Vita prior*. As the earlier of the Lives, that ascribed to Canaparius rightly has a certain precedence, but Bruno's variations are in fact extremely interesting.²⁸ Whereas the *Vita prior* is largely sacramental, Bruno invests the whole episode with somewhat more verisimilitude, especially in terms of the discussions of missionary strategy, of debate with the pagans, and of Adalbert's own sense of fear. Of course, that does not prove his greater accuracy, though,

²⁵ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 27, below at 168–9.

²⁶ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 28, below at 170–3.

²⁷ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 30, below at 176–81.

²⁸ I cannot agree with Dunin-Łasowicz, "Hagiographie polonaise," 184, that Bruno of Querfurt's *Vita Adalberti* "avait une portée beaucoup plus réduite" than the *Vita prior*: as a text about mission by a missionary it provides numerous insights that are not present in the *Vita prior*. See the discussions in Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 219–20, and idem, "Pagans and Holy Men, 600–800," in Próinséas Ní Chatháin and Michael Richter, *Irland und die Christenheit. Bibelstudien und Mission* (Stuttgart: Klett-Cotta, 1987), 347–61, at 358–9.

like the author of the *Vita Adalberti*, Bruno could have had direct contact with Gaudentius-Radim; rather it shows the hagiographer, himself a missionary, thinking through Adalbert's last days, as if preparing for his own confrontation with the pagans.²⁹ In this respect, Bruno's text (or texts, because there are two versions) is a more enlightening example of the hagiography of mission, while the Rome *Life* is a work which seeks to establish the sanctity of the martyr in almost liturgical terms.

The tale of Adalbert's martyrdom spread rapidly, not least because Gaudentius-Radim was able to provide an eye-witness account. The Polish ruler, Bolesław Chrobry, secured the return of Adalbert's body to Gniezno.³⁰ The martyr was canonized two years later by Pope Sylvester II, with the support of the emperor Otto III, and the earliest of the Lives to commemorate him may well have been produced in that context. It is a relatively early example of canonization, rather than popular recognition of a saint. In addition, the emperor built a church on the Isola Tiberina which he had dedicated to the apostle Bartholomew, Adalbert and Paulinus of Nola in 1000.³¹ In the same year Otto further showed his veneration for the martyred bishop when he visited his tomb at Gniezno—the complex political implications of the emperor's visit to Bolesław Chrobry we can leave to one side, although they are extremely important within the context of Ottonian relations with the Polish state.³² In fact a number of Lives of Adalbert were written within a quarter of a century of the martyr's death,³³ most

²⁹ Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 215–20.

³⁰ *Miracula Adalberti*, 8, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH, SS IV.

³¹ Hamilton, "The monastery of S. Alessio," 170–1.

³² Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chronicon*, IV 45, ed. Werner Trillmich (Darmstadt: WBG, 1957). There is a good English translation by David A. Warner, *Ottonian Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001). For the context of Otto's visit, recent work includes Althoff, *Otto III*, 126–52; Johannes Fried, *Otto III. und Boleslaw Chrobry. Das Widmungsbild des Aachener Evangeliiars, der „Akt von Gnesen“ und das frühe polnische und ungarische Königtum* (Stuttgart: Steiner, 2001); Janine Boßmann, *Otto III. und der Akt von Gnesen* (Munich: Grin, 2007).

³³ Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Hagiographie polonaise," 184–5.

of them of immense value to the historian. Despite this, curiously little attention has been paid in the Anglophone world to the work of Adalbert or the hagiography dedicated to him.³⁴ Indeed, although Adalbert is one of the best evidenced of early medieval missionaries, a significant amount of the discussion relating to the saint has been concerned with the composition of the Lives dedicated to him, and especially that of a lost text, whose existence can be inferred from what does survive, rather than what those Lives tell us about either Adalbert, or about the world in which he lived. Unfortunately for the non-Polish reader (and here we come to a second linguistic issue), by far the most important contribution to this debate has been that of Polish editor of the texts, Jadwiga Karwasińska.³⁵ Here Cristian Gașpar has performed an invaluable service, not only in translating the earliest of the surviving Lives, but also in providing an account of the arguments put forward by Karwasińska.

Canaparius and the community of Sant'Alessio take us to the heart of cultural life in Rome in the late tenth and early eleventh century.³⁶ The monastery, which had been founded in 977, was unusual in that it mixed Latin and Greek traditions.³⁷ Adalbert himself had twice lived as a monk at Sant'Alessio.³⁸ He also made contact with Nilus of Rossano, who was at the time in residence outside Monte Cassino.³⁹ Another figure who was drawn into the

³⁴ Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 207–25; in French there is the work of Aleksander Gieysztor, “*Sanctus et gloriosissimus martyr Christi Adalbertus: un état et une église missionnaires aux alentours de l’an mille*,” in *La conversione al cristianesimo nell’Europa dell’Alto Medioevo*, Settimane di Studio 14 (Spoleto, 1967), 611–47.

³⁵ This is also a problem in Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti*.

³⁶ Hamilton, “The monastery of S. Alessio.”

³⁷ Bruno, *Vita Adalberti*, 17, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH, SS IV; Hamilton, “The monastery of S. Alessio,” 267–8.

³⁸ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 13–21, below at 126–57.

³⁹ *Vita prior Adalberti*, 15–16, below at 132–41; on Adalbert and Nilus, see Hamilton, “The monastery of S. Alessio,” 285–6. On Nilus, see Jean-Marie Sansterre, “Saint Nil de Rossano et le monachisme latin,” *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* 45 (1991), 339–86.

world of Sant'Alessio was Adalbert's second hagiographer, Bruno of Querfurt, who may well have been in Otto's entourage when he stayed in Rome in 996 for his coronation, and who was certainly with the emperor on a subsequent visit, at which time he became a member of the community of Sant'Alessio.⁴⁰ It was presumably at this point that he took the name Boniface, in honor of St. Boniface of Tarsus (and not his Anglo-Saxon namesake) to whom the monastery was dedicated alongside Alexius. In fact for a while Otto himself resided on the Aventine, where he built a new palace in 999.⁴¹ Although Bruno was clearly impressed by the monastery of Sant'Alessio, he left Rome when Otto was driven out of the city and retreated north to Ravenna in 1001. Perhaps it would not have been wise for Bruno, as a member of Otto's circle and a distant relative of the emperor, to have remained in the largely hostile city. At Ravenna he became attached to the community of the Pereum, founded by the ascetic Romuald, who was himself a major influence on the emperor in his last years, and who very nearly persuaded Otto to enter the monastic life.⁴²

Romuald was a native of Ravenna, who in 973 had become a monk in the monastery of Sant'Apollinare, which had been reformed by Majolus of Cluny only two years previously.⁴³ After three years, however, he abandoned his vow of stability, and began a somewhat peripatetic ascetic career that took him to the Veneto and Cuxa in the Pyrenees, before returning to Ravenna in 988. There he may well have come into contact with Otto II's

⁴⁰ Peter Damian, *Vita beati Romualdi*, 27, ed. Giovanni Tabacco, *Fonti per la storia d'Italia* 94 (Rome: Istituto Storico Italiano, 1957). There is a partial translation into English by Henrietta Leyser, in Thomas Head, ed., *Medieval Hagiography* (New York: Routledge, 2000), 295–316.

⁴¹ *Gesta episcoporum Cameracensium*, I, 114, ed. Ludwig C. Bethmann, MGH, SS VII (Hanover, 1846).

⁴² Althoff, *Otto III*, 182–3. For Romuald, see also Bernard Hamilton, "S. Pierre Damien et les mouvements monastiques de son temps," *Studi Gregoriani* 10 (1975), 175–202, at 179–95; reprinted in idem, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades*.

⁴³ Hamilton, "S. Pierre Damien," 180.

widow, Theophano, who had established her court in the city.⁴⁴ Ten years later the young Otto III insisted that he become abbot of Sant'Apollinare in Classe. It was an office that did not suit the ascetic Romuald at all, and he abandoned it already in 999.⁴⁵ He left for Monte Cassino, where he came into contact with a young monk called Benedict.⁴⁶ The two of them then moved to Rome, and joined the community of Sant'Alessio, at the time that Otto was resident on the Aventine. Thus Romuald came into contact with Bruno. In 1001, they followed the emperor to Ravenna, and Romuald established a community at Pereum, where Otto built a monastery dedicated to Adalbert.⁴⁷

Bruno, and his two friends Benedict and John, were deeply impressed by the ascetic monasticism of Romuald, and the last two indeed would carry its lessons with them to Poland.⁴⁸ It was a region with which Romuald had connections, for a son of Bolesław Chrobry had entered the Pereum shortly after its foundation.⁴⁹ Bruno, Benedict and John did not, however, like the environs of Ravenna, which to them was little better than a swamp (as indeed the region was).⁵⁰ And they also longed for a more active monastic life than that practiced at the Pereum. As a result they decided to become missionaries in the Baltic region. According to Bruno himself this was rather to the displeasure of Romuald.⁵¹ Peter Damian, on the other hand, claims that Bolesław Chrobry approached Otto for missionaries, and that the emperor then instructed Romuald to deal with the request, which he in turn

⁴⁴ Hamilton, "S. Pierre Damien," 185.

⁴⁵ Hamilton, "S. Pierre Damien," 189–90.

⁴⁶ Bruno, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 2, below at 202–15; see the comment in Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Hagiographie polonaise," 185.

⁴⁷ Bruno, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 2, below at 202–11.

⁴⁸ Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude. Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008), 94–114.

⁴⁹ Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, 26.

⁵⁰ Bruno, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 2, below at 212–15.

⁵¹ Bruno, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 3, below at 216–17.

passed on to the brothers of the community, whereupon Benedict and John volunteered for the mission.⁵² It is not easy to explain the differences between the two versions of events, not least because Bruno himself may not be giving a full picture. He may, in fact, have already signaled his intent to become a missionary to the Slavs when he first made his monastic profession at Sant'Alessio, which was being developed as a centre for exactly such missions.⁵³ Even so, the picture he draws of the still-living Romuald, who was clearly not an easy man to deal with (indeed in Bruno's account he is distinctly difficult),⁵⁴ together with the immediacy of his description of the conversation with Benedict, in the course of which they agreed to embark on the Slav mission, rings true.⁵⁵ And we may guess that Romuald himself became a more enthusiastic supporter of mission later in life than he may perhaps have been during his time at Pereum. Peter Damian's presentation of Romuald's actions at this moment in time may have been colored by his subsequent actions.

Despite Romuald's reservations about their plan, Benedict and John set off for Poland, establishing a small community at Międzyrzecz (Germ. Meseritz: near Poznań), while Bruno was deputed to obtain papal approval for the mission. In the event, the situation in Italy during Otto's final year conspired to delay Bruno's visit to Rome, and he appears not to have secured papal approval for the mission until 1003; then, instead of heading straight to join

⁵² Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, 26.

⁵³ Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, 27; Hamilton, "The monastery of S. Alessio," 298. It should be noted, however, that Damian's account, which Hamilton follows, does not fit easily with Bruno's own version of events, in the *Vita quinque fratrum*, 2–4. For a comment on the differences between the accounts of Damian and Bruno, Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*, 95–6.

⁵⁴ Bruno, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 2–3, below at 202–17.

⁵⁵ Ian N. Wood, "Shoes and a fish dinner: The troubled thoughts of Bruno of Querfurt," in Richard Corradini, Matthew Gillis, Rosamond McKitterick, Irene van Renswoude, eds., *Ego Trouble: Authors and their identities in the Early Middle Ages* (Vienna: Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften. Phil.-hist. Klasse, 2010), 249–58.

his friends, he travelled to Magdeburg, to be consecrated missionary bishop by archbishop Tagino. As a result of this delay, Bruno failed to reach his companions before they were murdered in 1003 by local robbers who believed that they had a considerable treasure with them. The assumption that hermits had wealth recurs in the *Life* of the Polish hermit Zoerard, and prompts robbers to kill his disciple, another Benedict.⁵⁶

Meanwhile Romuald, apparently unhappy with developments, left Ravenna for Istria, where he remained for three years.⁵⁷ It may be that there he came into contact with Gaudentius, later bishop of Osor, who is remembered as a disciple of Romuald, and whose *vita* is the final text translated here.⁵⁸ After three years Romuald returned to Italy, where Henry II installed him in a monastery on the Monte Amiata.⁵⁹ By this time, however, for him the ultimate model was no longer asceticism, but martyrdom, as had been achieved by Adalbert, Benedict, John and their companions, and, in 1009, by Bruno. Inspired by this last martyrdom (though one wonders whether he would have been so enthusiastic, had he read Bruno's portrait of him) Romuald prepared a mission to the north, and set out for Hungary, but had to turn back because of his health.⁶⁰ In 1023 he would found the community of Camaldoli, outside Arezzo. He died four years later.⁶¹

⁵⁶ See also Marina Miladinov, "Hermits murdered by robbers: Construction of martyrdom in Ottonian hagiography," *Annual of Medieval Studies at CEU* 6 (2000): 9–21.

⁵⁷ Bruno, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 3, below at 216–17.

⁵⁸ Ivanka Petrović, "L'hagiographie, latine et vernaculaire, de l'espace croate, des origines à 1350," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. 4, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 2006), 183–272, at 212.

⁵⁹ Hamilton, "S. Pierre Damien," 194.

⁶⁰ Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, 39; Hamilton, "S. Pierre Damien," 194. Leyser, in Head, *Medieval Hagiography*, 316, n. 28, speculates that as Hungary was already converted, Romuald had intended to evangelise pagans beyond its borders.

⁶¹ Hamilton, "S. Pierre Damien," 195.

Bruno's *Life of Benedict and John*, and their Slav companions, Isaac, Matheus, together with their cook Christinus, is a remarkable work, which encompasses many genres. The descriptions of Romuald at Monte Cassino and subsequently at Sant'Alessio and at the Pereum, as well as of the small community established by Benedict and John at Międzyrzecz makes it a significant source for the history of eremitic monasticism.⁶² It is also a text about the desire for the missionary life—a theme which is also significant in the second half of Bruno's *Life of Adalbert*. In the course of both texts Bruno addresses questions of missionary strategy: the linguistic skills required⁶³ and the life-style to be adopted.⁶⁴ In each of the two works he also presents evaluations of aspects of Ottonian rule: in the *Life of Adalbert* he talks of Otto II, and in that of the Five Brethren of Otto III.⁶⁵ Finally, because Bruno felt himself to be responsible for the deaths of Benedict, John and their companions, the *Life of the Five Brethren* is also an extraordinary autobiographical examination of the author's own failings.⁶⁶

Bruno had failed to go directly from his consecration by Tagino at Magdeburg, because the new emperor, Henry II was at war with Bolesław Chrobry. Instead he went to Hungary, perhaps because Adalbert had once worked there. It was at about this time that he completed his first account of Adalbert's life.⁶⁷ He attempted to evangelize the Black Hungarians, but faced opposition from Greek monks.⁶⁸ Instead he moved on to Russia,

⁶² Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*.

⁶³ Bruno, *Vita Adalberti*, 5, 26, 12; idem, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 5, 10, 13, below at 259–61.

⁶⁴ Bruno, *Vita Adalberti*, 26; idem, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 10, below at 247–9. See Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 258–9.

⁶⁵ Bruno, *Vita Adalberti*, 10, 12; idem, *Vita quinque fratrum*, 7, below at 226–35.

⁶⁶ Wood, "Shoes and a fish dinner."

⁶⁷ Dunin-Wąsowicz, "Hagiographie polonaise," 184–5.

⁶⁸ For what follows we are dependent on Bruno, *Epistola ad Heinricum II imperatorem*, ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, *Geschichte der deutschen Kaiserzeit*, 4th ed, vol. 2 (Leipzig, 1895), 689–92. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VI, 94–5, provides a little evidence on his time in Russia and Poland. Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, 27, is certainly confused.

where he approached Vladimir for permission to work among the Petchenegs, which he did, with little success, but in extraordinarily dangerous circumstances. In 1007 he moved on to Poland, where he appears to have learnt of the fate of Benedict and John; and it was at this time that he wrote the *Life of the Five Brethren*, and also revised his account of Adalbert. Given his long delay in obtaining papal approval for the mission of Benedict and John, and his failure to join them, we must assume that he had come to regard his own involvement in the project they had dreamed up at the Pereum as being less necessary than they thought it was. The realization that he had failed them is a key element in the *Life of the Five Brethren*. While in Poland he also wrote a savage critique of Ottonian policy towards Bolesław Chrobry, which he addressed to Henry. In the course of the letter he provides a remarkable account of his work among the Hungarians and Russians. From Poland he would travel through Prussian territory to Lithuania, where on 9th March 1009 he was martyred. Bolesław ransomed his body, just as he had ransomed that of Adalbert.⁶⁹

Despite his importance as a missionary, as a hagiographer, and as a commentator on Ottonian rule, Bruno's own life-story is strangely difficult to reconstruct. Even though he was one of the most impressive of all early medieval missionaries, he is the subject of no major saint's Life, although there is a brief account of his death by Wibert, who claimed to be with him at the time of his martyrdom.⁷⁰ In addition, Thietmar of Merseburg provides an account of his cousin, slightly out of chronological place (in his account of the year 1013), in his *Chronicon*.⁷¹ So too Peter Damian dedicated a chapter to Bruno in his *Life of Romuald* (where he calls him by his adopted name of Boniface)⁷²—although it should be said that it is not easy to square the account given by Damian with

⁶⁹ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VI, 95.

⁷⁰ Wibert, *Hystoria de predicatione Episcopi Brunonis cum suis capellanis in Prussia et martyrio eorum*, ed. G.H. Pertz, MGH, SS IV 579–80.

⁷¹ Thietmar, *Chronicon*, VI, 94–5.

⁷² Peter Damian, *Vita Romualdi*, 27, 39.

the information provided by Bruno himself; nor is it clear which of the narratives is more reliable. In fact Bruno provides us with the majority of the evidence for his own biography, in the two versions of his *Life of Adalbert*, in his *Life of the Five Brethren*, and in his *Letter to Henry II*, but he is not at all specific about the chronology of events, or indeed the precise order of his journeys, after his departure from Ravenna.

The problems presented by Bruno's works do not, however, detract from their interest. They are major texts for the understanding of mission at the turn of the first millennium. That is not to say that they are concerned solely with evangelization. In the *Life of the Five Brethren* Bruno has as much to say about eremitic monasticism as he does about mission. In his *Vita Adalberti*, he is as concerned with Adalbert as bishop and monk, as he is with the saint as missionary and martyr. And the same balance is present in the *Vita Prima* of the bishop of Prague. Rather, these texts, like those concerned with Wenceslas, with Zoerard and with Gaudentius of Osor, introduce us to a world at a time when Christianity was being introduced to the new states of Central Europe, and to the ensuing generations; they also take us into the world (German and Italian) from which the missionaries to those states were drawn, and above all they shed light on the ascetic ideals of Sant'Alessio and the Pereum. The hagiography of the conversion period in Bohemia and Poland is not a category of text with a limited focus. Rather, it is a collection of widely different texts that suddenly shed light on the lands to the east of the Ottonian Reich: in the case of the Lives of Ludmila and Wenceslas, the texts are concerned exclusively with that region; in the Lives of Adalbert and of the Five Brethren we learn additionally about spirituality in Italy and about the court of Otto III. What Bruno has to tell us about the Ottonians makes his writing central to an understanding of the period, but equally what we learn about Prague, Gniezno, Międzyrzecz, and even the lands of Prussians, bring those regions firmly into the limelight of European history.

PASSION OF SAINT WENCESLAS
BY GUMPOLD OF MANTUA



Fig. 1. Duke Wenceslas is crowned by Christ and venerated by Queen Emma, wife of Boleslav II. Illumination to the Passion of St. Wenceslas by Gumpold of Mantua. Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelfh 11.2 Aug. 4^o, fol. 18v.

PREFACE

MARINA MILADINOV

Wenceslas of Bohemia was assassinated in 935 and was soon to become the first Slavic saint, as well as to play a prominent role in the creation of the medieval cult of holy rulers.¹ According to some sources,² it was his very murderer, his younger brother Boleslav I, who instigated Wenceslas's veneration by ordering a solemn translation of the holy remains and their deposition in the church of St Vitus in Prague, which Wenceslas himself had founded. This event probably took place early in the 960s as a step in the creation of the Prague bishopric (973) and its exemption from the jurisdiction of Regensburg, and is attested in several sources: the existence of the cult is briefly mentioned in tenth- and eleventh-century writings such as Widukind of Corvey's *Res gestae saxonicae* and two early *vitae* of Saint Adalbert.³

What appears to have been a purely political murder soon took on the quality of martyrdom, which was the case with several assassinated rulers in that period: in Western Europe, the parallels include Edmund, king of East Anglia (d. 870), and Edward the Martyr, king of the English (d. 979, and proclaimed saint as early as three years after his assassination), as well as the

¹ Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 100.

² See p. 55, n. 3.

³ *Widukindi Res gestae Saxonicae* 50, MGH SSrG 60, 68. Johannes Canaparius, *S. Adalberti, Pragensis episcopi et martyris, vita prior* 8, MPH n.s. IV/1, 13; Bruno of Querfurt, *Passio sancti Adalberti episcopi et martyris* 8, MPH n.s. IV/2, 27. On the role of the earliest hagiography in the foundation of the Prague bishopric, see Jan Kalivoda, "Nejstarší svatováclavská hagiografie v evropském literárním kontextu přelomu tisíciletí" [The oldest hagiography of St Wenceslas in the European literary context of the turn of the millenium], in *Svatý Václav. Na památku 1100. výročí narození knížete Václava Svatého*, ed. Petr Kubín (Prague: Univerzita Karlova v Praze and Arcibiskupství pražské, 2010), 51–61.

somewhat later Olaf Haraldsson, king of Norway (d. 1030), whose cult flourished immediately after his death.¹ An especially important parallel in Eastern Europe, in which fratricide also played a prominent role, is that of the Russian princes Boris and Gleb, sons of Vladimir, ruler of Kievan Rus, both of whom were murdered in 1015, probably at the order of their brother Svyatopolk for reasons of political rivalry; their cult began to develop as early as four years after their death.² This fast development of the cult speaks clearly of the appeal and the popularity of the royal martyr as a saintly type. In Wenceslas's case, the commemoration of his death on September 28 seems to have become the major feast day after the harvest, and Cosmas of Prague speaks of a "multitude of people" flocking to the cathedral "like bees to their hive," so that by 1060 the rotunda of St Vitus was no longer sufficient to hold the crowds and Duke Spytihněv decided to demolish it together with the mausoleum of St Adalbert and construct a new Romanesque church for both patron saints.³ The cult of the royal martyr spread quickly throughout the Empire, contributing to the intentional creation of Ottonian dynastic cults. Dušan Třeštík has pointed out that the *Vita Mathildis reginae posterior* is the only hagiography from the Ottonian period that

¹ See Erich Hoffmann, *Die heiligen Könige bei den Angelsachsen und den skandinavischen Völkern. Königsheilige und Königshaus* (Neumünster: Wachholtz, 1975).

² See especially Marina Yurievna Paramonova, "Heiligkeit und Verwandtschaft: Die dynastischen Motive in den lateinischen Wenzelslegenden und den Legenden der Boris und Gleb," in *Fonctions sociales et politiques du culte des saints dans les sociétés de rite grec et latin au Moyen Âge et à l'époque moderne. Approche comparative*, ed. Marek Derwich and Michel Dmitriev (Wrocław: Larhcor, 1999), 433–55; eadem, "The Formation of the Cult of Boris and Gleb and the Problem of External Influences," in Haki A. Antonsson and Ildar Garpizanov, eds., *Saints and their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c. 1000–1200)* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 259–83.

³ *Cosmae Pragensis chronica Boemorum / Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, SSrG n.s. II (Berlin, 1923; 2nd ed. 1955), 108–9; Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, trans. Lisa Wolvertton (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 135–6; see also Lisa Wolvertton, *Hastening toward Prague: Power and Society in the Medieval Czech Lands* (Philadelphia, PA: Pennsylvania University Press, 2001), 157–8.

quotes from Gumpold, and so obviously and extensively that he must have had direct access to Emma's codex (see the paragraph below);¹ yet the legend served as an inspiration to a number of later versions.²

A number of Wenceslas's legends were written soon after the prince's martyrdom, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, both in Latin and Old Slavonic.³ In the late 970s most likely, and certainly before his death in 983, Emperor Otto II commissioned a new hagiography of the Bohemian saint from Bishop Gumpold of Mantua. The most famous manuscript containing Gumpold's work is the one preserved in the Herzog August Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (Cod. Guelf. 11.2 Aug 4^o, fol. 18v-37v), which has the particular value of being roughly contemporary with the composition of the legend itself.⁴ It was ordered by Emma, daughter of Adelaide of Burgundy and wife of Boleslav II, at the time of her widowhood and exile and before her death in 1006. The codex contains 109 folios and its first section (fol. 1-37) contains three legends of various saints, among which Gumpold's is the oldest. The codex

¹ Dušan Třeštík, "Ještě ke královně Emmě. Wolfenbüttelský rukopis Gumpoldovy legendy a Druhý život královny Markéty" [More on Queen Emma. The Wolfenbüttel manuscript of Gumpold's legend and the Second Life of Queen Marketa], in *Legenda Wolfenbüttelského rukopisu*, ed. Jana Zachová (Prague: Centrum mediévistických studií, 2010), 44. Cf. idem, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin (530-935)* [The origins of the Přemyslids. Entry of the Bohemians into history, 530-935] (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1997); *Boleslav II. Der tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000. Internationales Symposium, Praha 9.-10. Februar 1999*, ed. Petr Sommer (Prague: Filosofia, 2001).

² Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 107.

³ Recent overviews of the heated debate over the chronology and the mutual influence of various lives include the following: Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců*; Jana Nechutová, *Die lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen*, trans. Hildegard Boková and Václav Bok (Cologne, Weimar and Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2007); Petr Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů / Seven Přemyslid Cults* (Prague: Univerzita Karlova v Praze, 2011); and in English the introduction to the translation of early Bohemian saints' lives by Marvin Kantor in his *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990).

⁴ The most recent presentation of this issue is in Třeštík, "Ještě ke královně Emmě." On the new dating of Emma's death and her whereabouts after 988, which had been traditionally considered the year of her death, see especially pp. 35-6.

is partly illuminated: its first page (fol. 18v) bears a multicolored and gilded image showing Emma in prostration at Wenceslas's feet, whereby the saint is offering Emma's commission to Christ, who is in turn placing a triple crown of martyrdom, adorned with a cross, upon the saint's head (see Fig. 1).¹ Another image on folio 20v shows the fatal banquet, with Wenceslas raising his goblet for the love of Christ and Archangel Michael, while fol. 21v has a depiction of Wenceslas's martyrdom (see Fig. 2).²

Compared to the closely preceding anonymous *Crescente fide* (ca. 973) Gumpold's legend is considerably longer and richer in events and details and is, according to its first editor G. H. Pertz, written in a "diffuse, complicated, and often obscure style."³ But in light of the fact that he was writing on specific imperial commission, an especially interesting modification consists in his thematic insertions and amplifications with respect to the textual source. It is also curious that, apart from the authorship of this legend, virtually nothing is known about Bishop Gumpold. Jana Nechutová has presumed that he spent some time in Prague before taking up his office in Mantua,⁴ which may explain his full knowledge of details and his precision in the spelling of Slavic names. His excellent knowledge of Latin and his stylistic skills are manifest already in the prologue, which begins with a sketch of human affairs and inclinations, apparently inspired by Sallust's introduction to the *Conspiracy of Catiline*.⁵

The depiction of Wenceslas as a good ruler is at the centre of both legends, yet Gumpold managed to transform his hero into an outright Ottonian *Werkheiliger* with a focus on the clash

¹ Cf. Ibid., 40–2.

² A detailed description can be found in Anežka Merhautová, "Gumpoldova legenda" [Gumpold's legend], in Zachová, *Legendy*, 19ff.

³ *collegit et stilo diffuso contorto et saepe obscuro explicavit*. MGH SS IV, 211. See also Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du moyen âge*, trans. Henri Rochas (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), vol. 2, 338.

⁴ Nechutová, *Die lateinische Literatur*, 47.

⁵ Ibidem.

between his religious and secular roles, as Gábor Klaniczay has convincingly shown.¹ Although the murder of Wenceslas appears to have been a clear result of a striving for power combined with rivalry between the two opposing religious parties, Christian and pagan, the conflict between which had already caused the death of his grandmother Ludmila, there is certain contradiction inherent in the course of events. Practically all Wenceslas's *vitae*—and there are a considerable number of early, tenth to eleventh-century ones, both Latin and Old Slavonic—speak about his outspoken asceticism and mention his plan to abandon the throne, go on a pilgrimage, and afterwards retire to a monastery.² And they cite the same reason why he never actually carried out this intention: he began to build the church and he could not leave the world before it was completed. Such a decision may appear rather strange in view of the fact that Wenceslas obviously invested all his energy to establish and sustain Christianity in his reign and that he knew what consequences the change of power would have. The same contradiction is present in Wenceslas's alleged neglect of his royal duties, but such one-sided, almost egotistical asceticism is otherwise implied only by the author of the *Crescente fide*, where the concerns of courtly circles are personified in the counselors of Wenceslas's pagan mother Drahomira and expressed in direct speech: "What should we do when he who is to be prince has been ruined by priests and is like a monk?"³ While reworking the motif of royal weakness as one of the reasons for the ruler's murder, Gumpold unconsciously repeats the paradox that is particularly striking, at least for the modern reader: why should anyone wish to murder the ruler in order to gain power if the ruler's only desire was to abdicate? In part, this is explained by the evil nature of Wenceslas's brother, the "diabolical urge" that had been present in him since his childhood and that nevertheless makes him a tool in the

¹ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 107–8; Paramonova, "Heiligkeit und Verwandtschaft," 439.

² The early legends have been translated into English in Kantor, *The Origins*.

³ *Quid facimus, quia princeps debebat esse, perversus est a clericis, et est monachus? Crescente fide*, FRB 1, 185. Translation from Kantor, *The Origins*, 147.

hands of God that will accomplish the predestined deed and help Wenceslas obtain the glory of martyrdom. The central episode in Gumpold's legend is thus Wenceslas's assassination, which is given with dramatic empathy rendered through dialogue and the rapid alternation between heightened tension and relief. His willingness to be slain and his miraculous resistance to the blows of the sword until the right moment, when he chooses not to punish his brother but lifts the fallen sword and hands it back to the murderer, adds to the aura of martyrdom, while at the same time preserving the idea of Wenceslas's regal power and control.

Nevertheless, the question of balance between asceticism and royal duties remains. It is certain that a young state, one moreover torn by internal strife, would have needed a capable statesman rather than a monk for its ruler. Indeed, while seeking to place emphasis on the issue of Christianization, Gumpold adds a passage about the pagan customs of the Czech people during Wenceslas's lifetime and fittingly omits the abovementioned questioning of his mother Drahomira by the clerics. Discontent with Wenceslas's methods of ruling are not a result of his detachment from the world, but of the fact that his reign is different from what the Czechs had been used to: the hagiographer has assigned him the role of founding a new, Christian dynasty, a *beata stirps*.¹ Instead of presenting the martyr as a defenseless victim, Gumpold seeks to show how Wenceslas possessed a number of desirable royal virtues and showed great decisiveness in dealing with offenders. Thus he becomes the prototype of a good ruler of the period: a defender of widows and orphans, a protector of the poor and of foreigners and travellers, supportive with respect to Christianity, and honest, merciful and generous in his dealings with subordinates.² In this respect, Gumpold managed to reconcile Wenceslas's royal duties and his asceticism with the Ottonian ideal of a dignitary who is powerful and fear-inspiring, unswervingly just in dealing with

¹ Paramonova, "Heiligkeit und Verwandtschaft," 437 and 441.

² *Crescente fide*, FRB 1, 183–4.

both friends and enemies, and giving to every man his due, yet who is at the same time depicted as a solitary living alone in the crowd, an ascetic amidst the royal luxury of his standing: distinguishing and isolating himself from others through his penitential practices and intimate contact with God.

In the course of the eleventh century, Wenceslas's status as a royal saint belonging to the dynasty that still ruled the country necessarily experienced a promotion to that of the patron of Bohemia, as marked by his appearance on coins and seals.¹ Even though he shared the role of the patron of Bohemia with Adalbert, whose cult never waned and even experienced a resurgence during the twelfth century, the specific role of the murdered prince as a royal patron ensured his predominance in both liturgy and state affairs. Wenceslas's feast day was often the excuse for celebrations and gatherings that had a broader political significance, particularly because it was an occasion which brought together most of the Bohemian clergy and nobility.² It is highly interesting that by the twelfth century the image of this peace-loving ruler experienced transformation into that of an intercessor in warfare and the bringer of miraculous victories to the Bohemian army on the battlefield.³ Wenceslas's lance was routinely carried to battles and the martyr was believed to help his people in all times of adversity, particularly in armed conflicts, so that by the end of the eleventh century his lance, banner and shield had become iconographic elements that accompanied him on the coins of the Bohemian rulers, who thus constructed a firm link between their heavenly patron and themselves.⁴

Gumpold's life was first edited by Josef Dobrowsky in *Kritische Versuche, die ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen*, 3 (Prague, 1819), 53–115, and then by G. H.

¹ Cf. František Graus, *Lebendige Vergangenheit. Überlieferung im Mittelalter und in den Vorstellungen vom Mittelalter* (Cologne & Vienna: Böhlau, 1975), 164–5.

² Wolverton, *Hastening toward Prague*, 158ff.

³ Graus, *Lebendige Vergangenheit*, 159ff; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 164ff.

⁴ Wolverton, *Hastening toward Prague*, 163–73.

Pertz in MGH SS IV (Annales, chronica et historiae aevi Carolini et Saxonici) (Hanover, 1841), 211–23, whence it was taken over by J. Emler, FRB I, 146–66.¹ The most recent critical edition is that by Jana Zachová, who in some cases adopted a different reading with respect to the previous editors. This is the edition we have chosen for our basic text, and in cases where I considered her divergences from the previous editions of interest to the reader, they have been indicated in the notes below the Latin text.

¹ See Nechutová, *Die lateinische Literatur*, 47–8; Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine*, vol. 2, 572–3.

PASSIO SANCTI VENCESLAVI MARTYRIS
GUMPOLDI, MANTUANI EPISCOPI



PASSION OF SAINT WENCESLAS THE MARTYR
BY GUMPOLD, BISHOP OF MANTUA

INCIPIIT PROLOGUS GUMPOLDI, MANTUANI EPISCOPI

Studiorum igitur genera multiformia varias cuique mortalium ingerere solent ingeniorum curas, quibus id genus ratione praestantissimum imaginationis potentia interioris, tum natura, tum etiam industria res quoquo modo sensibus subiectas intellectu discernere, et ad vota humana in usus iucundos gaudet diffingere. Hic namque mente moderatus, spreto caducorum ludicro superna intendit, ille extractos in altum honores ardenti rerum fugacium siti exaestuans desiderat; hunc ætas iuencula contra fas plerumque illicit, illum frigide senectutis matura longevitas in mores severos ac salubres coaptat; huic artis bellicę audax prudentia appetibilem laudis gloriam promeretur, illi operum diversorum labor artificiosus desiderium eximit mentisque naturalem subtilitatem extorquet. Quidam vero litteralis speculatione profunditatis infixi necnon liberali ocio per miras eloquiorum venustates perspicacius dediti, frequentissima reputatione, quo ordine siderum motus ac fixione non motabili disponantur, quę aut qualis mensura magnitudinis ambitum quadam quasi latenti ratione per formulas geometricales ad certam metiendi comprehensionem asstringat, quove dictu tota per numerum decurrat summa quantitatis soliditatisque, aut per quas consonantiarum proportionem cantilena temperetur naturalis, vel qua opinionum imagine sub veri falsique proposito eorumque difficili commixtione tam profunda eloquentium subrepat disputatio, per arcium scrupulositates investigare desudant. Alii autem studiis incitati carminum, ludo insistentes poetico, ad neniarum garrulitates alta divertunt ingenia. Famam autem veritatis erga Dei sanctorum memoranda gesta celesti benignitate mortalium obtutibus toties designatam, incurię quam exitiali negligentia, fabulis^a delectati, non pavent subcludere. Nec mirum, si grandia ac phi-

^a fabulosis *ms.*

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE
BY GUMPOLD, BISHOP OF MANTUA

Multiple sorts of scholarly endeavor require various mental efforts from mortal men, among which our generation, the most distinguished through its reasoning, uses the power of internal imagination, be it through natural gift or through exertion, to discern by intellect those things which are in any way subject to the senses and to transform them at man's will to agreeable uses. One man, being of a temperate mind, will disdain the pleasure of transitory things and reach out for those sublime, while another will crave for high honors and yearn for fleeting things with burning thirst; one will be seduced by his young age into many things that are illicit, while another will be forced by the mature longevity of his chilling old age into austere and wholesome customs; one will attain the coveted honor and fame owing to his audacious ingenuity in the art of warfare, while another will banish sloth by his skillful effort in various activities and apply the natural agility of his mind. Some, again, who are immersed in the depths of erudition or indulge in munificent idleness in order to study the amazing elegance of expression, will strive to ascertain with painstaking scholarly research and by repeated verifications in what kind of order the movement of stars and their immobile fixation are arranged, which and what sort of measure limits the volume of the Earth's size to an accurate apprehension of measuring by means of geometric formulas, as if according to some hidden logic; or how can all quantity and solidity be expressed in numbers; or which proportion of accords qualifies a natural song; or what concept of thoughts makes such a profound ability of eloquent people for debate crawl out from beneath the true and false propositions and their complex mixture. Others will be inflamed by the study of poems and pursue the game of poetry, turning their profound talents to the garrulity of trifling songs. However, those who delight in stories do not fear to leave unheed-

losophicas quaestiones moventia huiusmodi sapientes a simplici compositionum serie transduxerint, cum plures eorum, ardentius inherendo gentilium scriptis, non tantum quid in sacris gestis laudi divinae proferendum ac litterarum indiciis in posteros divulgandum postposuerint, verum quicquid divinum ac menti devote mitissimum simpliciter ac sine difficultatis perplexione videtur, penitus id quasi utilitate carens abiecerint. Hac denique fortuna, uti plures existimant, res hominum volvente ac sublimium sagacitate rethorum magis altiora spectante, nobis a tanta sapientum ac docta loquacitate admodum seiunctis, brevis tamen seriola subnotacionis, quamvis corrupte prolata, victoriosissimi imperatoris augusti Ottonis II¹ sacro iussu rusticitati nostrę imposita, memorabilis viri nomen gestorumque insignes mentiones paulo post declaratura, sequentis praecedat textus raritatem; quem vero quantum attenuat culpa viciose scribentis, tantum exornat sancti excelsa dignitas, materiae causam operum sacra auctoritate designantis.

INCIPIT PASSIO SANCTI VENCESLAVI MARTYRIS

Avulsa igitur ob insecabilis sacramentum Trinitatis prisco catholicorum idoneoque refragatu pestifere haereseos sentosa pululatione, vitalis splendor dogmatis irradianti diffusionem orbem atra errorum caligine obfuscata divinitus serenavit. Sed quia fidei salubris incrementa, quo primum roboris sumpsissent exordium ecclesiastici, priore theologorum sollertia salutarium studiis textuum latius coruscante, libris inscriptum ac credulae posteritati certius præsignatum satis constare pernovimus, gentibus tamen quibusdam longo post errabundo anfractu divortio ad normalis

¹ Otto II (d. 983), king from 961 and emperor from 967, ruling together with his father Otto I until the latter's death in 973.

ed, in deadly disregard and carelessness, the fame of truth, or the memorable deeds of God's saints, destined so many times by celestial benevolence to the gaze of mortal men. And it is no wonder if great things, which govern philosophical questions, have guided wise men away from those simple compositions, since many among them, more fervently cleaving to the writings of the pagans, have not only cast aside what was to be gathered from the sacred deeds to the praise of God and made known to the future generations in writing, but have also rejected as useless absolutely everything that is divine and seems most pleasant to the devout mind, only because it is simple and without any perplexing difficulty. Since such is eventually the fortune that governs human affairs and since the wit of subtle rhetoricians is looking up towards higher things, it has been imposed upon our rusticity by the sacred mandate of the most victorious and august Emperor Otto II,¹ although we are very far away from such great and learned eloquence of the wise, that we should put together this very brief consideration, even if expressed in a bad way, that will, disclosing a little later the name of the memorable man and the remarkable recollection of his deeds, precede the egregious text that follows. As much as its value is diminished by the fault of the inadequate author, it is increased by the sublime dignity of the saint, who distinguishes the motive and the matter by the sacred authority of his deeds.

HERE BEGINS THE PASSION OF SAINT WENCESLAS THE MARTYR

When the thorny sprouts of pestilent heresies were plucked out owing to the mystery of the indivisible Trinity and the long-lasting and mighty resistance of the Catholics, the lively brilliance of the radiating dogma illuminated the world, which had been obfuscated by the vapor of error. And as the dexterity of valuable theologians first shone forth in the study of sacred texts, the growth of salutary faith and the beginnings of the establishment of ecclesiastical organization were written down in books and preserved well

rectitudinem tramitis sacra illustracione redactis, nondum cunctę mundi nationes, quamvis prædestinatę, huius gratię donum simul sunt sortitę; sed ordinante cęlesti maiestate, quasi paulatim surgentibus diaboli detrimentis, felicius in partes processit. Quarum quidem partium unam, stili simplicitate præsentis exprimendam, incolis inhabitatam Sclavanicis <aggredimur>^a. Plaga aquilonalis ceteris immitior ac fide tardior nostrę prostratur intentioni; quam ipsa sacri pneumati[s] charistia ad christianę cultum professionis, quamvis sera, tamen beata conversione dignata est instituire.

Quoniam quidem ab ipsis terrę incolis Boemia regioni vocabulum sonat impositum; cui iam regnante felicitis memorię preclarissimo rege Heinrico,¹ quidam gentis illius progenie clarior ac potentia in cives eminentior, Zpurtigneu nomine,² principatus regimen sub regis dominatu impendens, divini cultus dulci voto attactus, sacri fontis misterio regenerari non parum anhelans, baptismo mundatur. Et novo studio fervens, domos Dei ad beatissimę eius genitricis Marię sanctique apostolorum principis memorandam veneracionem construxit, in quibus postmodum innumera annuatim miracula ope divina cooperante fulserunt.³

Huius interim laudabilis vitę diebus honestorum actuum exemplo per naturae legem obclusis, frater eius ætate^b minor Vuratzlau⁵ in principatum se publico assensu eligente successit. Frater namque

^a aggređimur *suppl. ex ed.*

^b ætate *sscr. ms.*

¹ Henry I (ca. 875–936), Duke of Saxony from 912 and the first Ottonian king from 919, led extensive warfare against the Slavs and managed to force Bohemia under his allegiance.

² Spytihněv I, Duke of Bohemia (ruled 894/895–915), was the eldest son of Bořivoj I and Ludmila. In 895, he placed the church of Prague under the jurisdiction of Regensburg and installed there monks from St Emmeram, at the time when other Bohemian dukes were still pagan. After 911, he imposed indirect sovereign rule of the Přemyslids over all of Bohemia.

³ This refers to the monastery of St Peter at Budeč (see below), while that of St Mary in Prague was established by Bořivoj; see Dušan Třeštík, *Počátky Přemyslovců. Vstup Čechů do dějin, 530–935* [The origins of the Přemyslids: The entry of the Czechs into

and safely for the believing posterity. But although some pagans were, after erring on a tortuous side-path for a long time, guided back to the straightness of the normal way by the sacred illustration, still not all the nations of the world, even though predestined, obtained equally the gift of this grace; by the order of the celestial majesty, it reached those regions gradually, as if the devil were meant to be ruined step by step. Among such lands I will refer to one, which is inhabited by a Slavic people and will be described with the simplicity of this pen. It is a northern region, more savage and more belated in faith than others, that is offering itself to our purpose; which the very grace of the Holy Ghost deigned to set to the profession of Christian cult in a late, yet blessed conversion.

The name Bohemia seems to have been imposed by the very inhabitants of the land; and already during the rule of the most illustrious King Henry of blissful memory,¹ a man by the name of Svytihněv,² more glorious by birth and more eminent in power than all other members of that people, who ruled the principality under the sovereignty of the king, was attracted by the sweet promise of divine service; strongly yearning to be reborn by the sacrament of the holy fount, he was purified in baptism and, burning with the new zeal, constructed churches in memorable veneration of the blessed mother of our Lord, Mary, and the holy prince of the Apostles, in which afterwards countless miracles shone forth every year with divine assistance.³

Then, as the days of his praiseworthy life, in which he gave an example of honest doing, were concluded by the law of nature, his younger brother Vratislav⁴ succeeded him on the throne, elected by

history, 530–935] (Prague: Nakladatelství Lidové noviny, 1997), 340–1; *Legendy Wolffenbüttelského rukopisu*, ed. Jana Zachová (Prague: Centrum mediévistických studií, 2010), 116.

⁴ Duke of Bohemia (b. ca. 888, ruled 915–921), younger brother of Svytihněv I. According to the tradition, he is the founder of the church of St George in the Prague castle. He died quite young and during his lifetime appointed his eldest son Wenceslas his heir.

ipse assecutus religionem, victorioso Dei athletę, beato martiri Georgio, basilicam Deo dicendam christiane credulus veritati erexit.¹ Quo etiam post tardos temporum tractus naturaliter hominem <ex>eunte, sobolem alta ammiracione mortalibus per^a laudes frequentandam, filiorum scilicet tam natu quam etiam actu maiorem, Deo dilectum Vencezlaum, superstitem sibi ac multo cęlestium ardentiozem reliquit.

Qui vero mirę claritatis ac amandae indolis, dum floridam iuventutis ętatem primum attigisset patre adhuc vivo, ad litterarum disponi exercitia desiderans paternumque crebro flagitamine deflectens animum, eius transmissu in civitate Bunsza litteris addiscendis est positus.² Cuius itaque ingenio celeri capacitate divinitus instructo brevi studio librum psalmodialem ceteraque divinorum compluria perdidicit et solidius interiori memorię conexuit. Patre interim, ut iam dictum est, universe carnis viam ingresso iuvenis ipse senum exempla actibus declarans, sub regis serenissimi Ottonis³ fulgente potentia, favorabili populorum assensu in paterni ducatus successionem se nimium refutante delectus et in principalis sedem dignitatis est elevatus.

Quam gravibus tunc perturbantis molestię diversitatibus principis novelli benignitas terreno iure suscepto intrinsecus angeretur, non est admirandum, quoniam cęlestia pre ceteris intuendo mente devota proposuit, ut quamvis publice utilitati providende debitor extitisset, Dei tamen praedulci^b obsequio, uti primis se annis implicavit potius despecto seculari fastigio, non repudiavit. Plebis autem commisse crimen luendum veritus, si dignam civilis districtio-

^a per *sscr. ms.*

^b praedulci : perdulci *Zach.*

¹ For the history of this basilica founded around 920, see Jan Frolík, "The Basilica and Convent of St. George: The Oldest Extant Church Buildings," in *The History of Prague Castle* (Prague: Prague Castle Administration, 2003), 60–3.

² A fortress above the village of Zákolany, about 17 km north-west of Prague.

common assent. He followed his brother's religion and, since he believed in the Christian truth, erected a basilica to be consecrated in the Lord to the victorious athlete of God, the blessed martyr George.¹ When after a long spell of time he died of a natural cause, he left a progeny behind, whom mortals deeply admired and praised, and his heir was the eldest among his sons, by birth as well as in his customs: it was Wenceslas, who was dear to God and even more fervent in celestial things than his father.

As Wenceslas, who was amazingly beautiful and had a loveable character, reached the first age of flowering youth while his father was still alive, he wished to devote himself to the exercise of letters and, having bent his father's mind by frequent entreaties, was sent to the city of Budeč with his permission in order to study.² Since his nature was divinely endowed with swift talent, he managed after a brief period of study to learn by heart the entire Book of Psalms and a number of other holy writings, fixing them deeply in his memory. In the meantime, his father, as we have already said, succumbed to the way of all flesh, and since the youth followed the examples of the elders in his deeds, he was elected, under the splendid power of the most serene King Otto³ and by the favorable assent of the people, to succeed his father's ducal rule, even though he greatly resisted, and was thus raised to the dignity of the ruler's throne.

No wonder that the goodness of the new ruler, as he seized the rule over the land, was internally oppressed with serious and perturbing conflicts and troubles, since he preferred heavenly things over all others, contemplating them with the devout mind, and although he was apparently fulfilling his duty by providing for the public benefit, he was engaged in the sweetest allegiance to God as much as he

³ Otto I (912–973), son of Henry I and Mathilde, crowned king in Aachen in 936 and emperor in 973. With the support of Pope John XIII, he was successfully pursuing his policy towards the Slavic East, which included Christianization and subjugation to the sovereignty of the Empire. To this purpose, he established the Archbishopric of Magdeburg in 967. This, however, is an erroneous statement, since it was Henry I who ruled at the time. Cf. Zachová, *Legendy*, 117.

legem non inpendisset; sed hoc ambiguum non diu mediastinum tractatus, quam sagaciter arripiens callem, ut neque hoc seculariter agendum omisisset, vel istud ob cēlestia tendendum a se neglegi in futurum non expavisset; moderari in civium ac milicię communes utilitates legum decreta, benignissimo et admodum discreto dominio^a denique residens, nutu certavit principali. In decernendo providus et misereri cuiquam promptus, in miseras reorum noxas facilius cessanda punitate exorabilis, omnigenarum qualitate poenarum in iudiciis alienus, domestica habitudine simplex, morum castitate perspicuus, bonorum promissione erga potentiores haud tardus hisque adimplendis ēque devotus; incolarum quoque inopum iam rusticitatem maioribus sepe in diligendo proferens^b; viduatis parentum vel rerum adminiculo necnon patria exulantibus consolator ac paternus fautor, miro semper caritatis splendore effulsit. Modestus in omnes actus memorabilisque amator paciētię et inter cunctas casuum adversitates prudens moderator, substantiarum largissimus in pauperum flebiles indigentias dispensator, humilitatis mansuetissimę placidus exsecutor, in se plerumque severior, in ceteros ubique clementior; omnibus in ęternitatis exemplum largiendo, miserando, inscios reformando, edoctos roborando perluxit^c.¹

His ergo virtutum fulgentibus gemmis beatissimi iuvenis decorata conversatio, in tantum ad hęc pietatis studium adamavit, ut quandocumque dispositis erga publicas necessitates colloquiorum vel placitorum inter ordinata iudicum plebiumque subsellia edictis eoque eminentius res quaslibet in iudiciis prenoscente, si forsans quis noxa detentus, mortali sententia quamvis debito proscriptus eius presentię ab incusatorum damnabili iudicio fuisset adductus,

^a domiolio *ms.*; dominio *Eml.*

^b praeferens *ms.*

^c perduxit *ms.*

¹ This image of the just and pious ruler is found in many lives of kings. See, for example, the lives of the Hungarian king Stephen in SRH 2, 377–440, with English translation in CEMT 7, forthc.

had been in his early age, and he never cast it off, despising worldly honor. He feared, however, that he would have to atone for the guilt of the people that was entrusted to him if he imposed not the fitting law of civil force; and he did not ponder over this lowly dilemma for too long, but shrewdly took the path on which he would neither omit what was to be done in secular terms, nor have to fear that he might neglect in the future what was to be done for the sake of heavenly things; residing in his pleasing and quite modest residence, he strove to moderate the legal decrees with his lordly will for the common benefit of the citizens and the court. He was prudent in judgments and ready to show mercy to everyone, easily persuaded to pardon punishments for the lamentable offenses of prisoners, and opposed to all types of sentences that included corporal chastisement; he was simple in domestic customs, conspicuous in his chastity of behavior, never hesitating when promising goods to his peers, and equally dedicated to the fulfillment of his promises; as to his affection, he often preferred the rusticity of peasants and the poor over those who were mighty; and he always shone forth with the wondrous splendor of charity, as a comforter and a fatherly patron to those who were deprived of the support of their parents or property, as well as those who were exiled from their homeland. He was modest in all gestures and a memorable lover of patience; a prudent governor in all adversities and conflicts, and a most liberate dispenser of resources when it came to alleviating the miseries and needs of the poor; a gentle perpetrator of the tamest humility; more severe to himself than to most and more merciful to everyone else, offering a permanent example to all with his open-handedness and clemency, teaching the unknowing and encouraging the learned.⁹

The lifestyle of this most blessed young man, adorned by such brilliant gems of virtue, was so eagerly devoted to this exertion of piety that, whenever the appointed court of judges and commoners issued edicts concerning the public enforcement of hearings and settlements, and he knew beforehand something concerning the judgment, then if someone arrested for a crime were brought before him, condemned by the judgment of his accusers, he would walk out safe-

<eius suffragiis immunis abiret e medio>^a. Si vero princeps ille misericors nec permutata legis necessitate nec iudiciis pro hoc solvendo aliquatenus ab eo exoratis minime reum lege horribili cognovit eripiendum, se tandem cupiens ac sacros obtutus sanguinea caede non sordidandos subducere, edita quoquo modo excusabili ratione, consessu ac iudicio excessit. Quam sano ingenii acumine salutaris emulator et evangelici edicti, quo precipitur: *Nolite iudicare, et non iudicemini; et nolite condemnare, et non condemnabimini*.¹

Hoc ipse Deo plenus iuvenis mandatum perfectius amando ac periculosę a quoquam mortalium presentiens^b non sequendum, notatis reis criminosa dampnatione pereundis benignissime pepercit. Verum ne tormentorum nefanda monimenta diutius excrevissent, omnia patibula hominum suspendiis in eius regni locis quam pluribus erecta pēnitens dirui fecit nec ulterius hoc tempore reparari toleravit. Felicissimo autem actuum propectu bonitatis iam probandę cumulum magis magisque in dies convenustando exaggerans, quacumque terrarum parte clericos advenientes alacri munificencia sub tocius necessitatis grata revelatione ad se recepit divinoque amore erga proximum servando sub oculis eius adfixo, reverenda caritate secum eos libentius commanentes curiose benigniterque tractavit, eorumque crebris sacrisque informationibus mens casta cēlitus edocta, frequentius in discendo exulta, in miram scripturarum capacitatem providit. Quicquid namque docentium studia in eo p̄signaverant, honestis actibus ipse complevit; quia omnium angustię compassus, inbecillitate quosdam lassantes caritativo visitavit solacio et mortis lege illaqueatos, plerumque neglecta a civibus minus religiosis sepultura, funebris obsequiic tumulavit officio. Sed gentibus ducatu ipsius per legem ac morum consuetudinem vetu-

^a eius suffragiis immunis abiret e medio *suppl. ad sensum ex ed.*

^b persentiens *ms.*

^c obsequii *sscr. ms.*

¹ Luke 6, 37.

ly from the midst of his verdict even if he had been rightfully sentenced to capital punishment; and if the merciful ruler realized that he could not manage to snatch the accused from the terrible law, neither by altering the force of the law nor by moving the judges by his pleas to liberate him, and he still wanted to prevent that he himself and the holy gaze should be darkened by a bloody massacre, he by all means provided an excusable reason to overthrow the judgment and the sentence, since he followed in a salutary way the common sense and the evangelical mandate, which says: *Judge not, and you shall not be judged: condemn not, and you shall not be condemned.*¹

This young man, full of God, who loved his consignment exquisitely and perceived that some mortals were dangerously neglecting it, most benevolently forbore to punish the accused that were noted down for execution, condemned for their crimes. And lest the infamous memory of tortures should persist, he ordered that all gallows, which had been erected in many places in his kingdom for hanging people, should be completely destroyed, and he did not allow them to be set up again as long as he lived. And as his deeds advanced in a most fortunate way and he amplified the amount of his already commendable goodness from one day to another as he was growing older, he began to receive clerics from all parts of the world, who were coming to him in all sorts of necessity, with eager generosity and agreeable consolation; and nurturing divine love towards his fellow humans, which was always before his eyes, he gladly invited them with pious love to stay with him and treated them attentively and benevolently. His chaste mind, heavenly instructed by their abundant and sacred ideas, was much refined by learning and he reached a wondrous understanding of the Holy Scriptures. If any of the teachers assigned him tasks, he fulfilled them with respect; since he had compassion with all that were anxious, he visited and comforted with charity those who lay exhausted from illness and ensnared by the law of death; and for those whom the less devout citizens did not care to bury, he secured a funeral with appropriate service. But the people that was placed under his rule according to the law and the ancient custom was wild and faltering in the doc-

stam disponendis, rudis adhuc fidei doctrina nutantibus, dum per nefandas aditorum atque ararum furialium eđes proceres quoque ipsos diis libandum alienis frequentius in anno concursantes beatæ indolis iuenculus conspexisset, ad hanc scelerosam aedendis sacrificiorum victimis communionem, quamvis sepe rogatus, mense cęlestis convivia præ omnibus esuriens, non tantum epulas refutavit illicitas, verum etiam profana convivarum sordibus dęmoniacis inquinorum quam strenue aufugit consorcia. Super his tamen errore pestifero depressis non parum sollicitus, voluta sepius scriptura, qua per apostoli dicta precipitur: *Alter alterius honera portate*,¹ quosdam aliquo modo ad verum summi boni tramitem flexibiliores suavis alloquio persuasionis, ut spretis, quibus decepti fuissent, idolorum imaginibus ad verę et inmutabilis, crescere vel minui nescientis, semper manentis essentiam Deitatis, mentes et vota cum fide inclinassent, superne mercedis bona promittendo inestimabilia, constantissime adortari non destitit. Quosdam vero minus peritię huius salutifere capaces, corde duriores sensuque vera intellegendi desidiores iuxta monitum apostolicum oportune chatezizans atque inopportune obiurgatus² utriusque modi^a designans premium, pro viribus conando, quoscumque potuit, tam ultronea quam coacta etiam invitatione, ad patrisfamilias cęnam omnibus copiarum sumptibus habundantem, pulsa fame sacietatis eternę gaudia subministrantem, coniungere cupidus properavit.

Inter ea mira igitur ieuniorum elemosinis fulgentium acta hoc egregium modestę consuetudini saluberrimo solitus est adnectere exemplo, videlicet ut divini insinuatione effaminis sacre mentis intuitu altius perspecta, quia obedientię magis quam sacrificii Deum comprobare legitur obsequium, pios ac venerandos mores admodum exornare studuisset. <Q>uoniam redeunte per annuas vices legitimo arduae observationis ieunio sacer ipse iuvenis,

^a modi *sscr. al. m.*

¹ Gal. 6: 2.

² *Compare prove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine.* 2 Tim. 4: 2.

trine of faith. As the youth of blessed disposition observed even noblemen frequent the infamous sanctuaries with temples and altars made for demons many times a year in order to sacrifice to foreign gods—since he was very often invited to such scandalous communions, where animals were sacrificed in offering—he, hungering for the heavenly banquet more than anyone, not only refused to join the illicit feasts, but also fled from the profane society of such table companions, who were defiled with sordid demons, as briskly as he could. Still he was rather worried about those men oppressed by pestilent error, and he often recalled the Scripture, which admonished through the words of the Apostle: *Bear ye one another's burdens*,¹ and he did not desist from constantly admonishing those who were in some way more pliable towards the true path of the supreme good with his gentle addresses of persuasion and promises of the inestimable goods of heavenly reward, urging that they should spurn the images of idols that had deceived them and turn their minds and vows with faith to the true and unchangeable essence of God, which neither increased nor diminished, but always remained the same. Those, however, who were less capable of this salutary knowledge, since they were hard at heart and too dull to perceive the truth by reason, he catechized when it was fitting, according to the precept of the Apostle, and rebuked them when it was not fitting,² earning the prize either way, striving with all his might and hastening eagerly to gather all those whom he could, be it by voluntary or forced invitation, to the supper of the supreme Father, which would abound with all possible lavishness of riches and, casting hunger aside, offer the joy of eternal contentment.

Besides the admirable deeds of splendid fasting and almsgiving, he added another sublime deed to his modest customs as a most salutary example: he strove to embellish greatly his devout and venerable customs by discerning more deeply, with the insight of his holy mind, the proclamation of God's word, since it can be read that one proves allegiance to God by obedience rather than by sacrifice. Although he was quite frequently disturbed by secular business that concerned his reign, when the yearly fasting period came around,

seçularibus quamvis ob regimen negociis haut raro fuerit interceptus^a, indefessis tamen orationum larga inter pauperes dispensatione volantium operibus singulos quam veneranter perduxit dies. Noctibus autem serenissimo instans pervigilio, lenis inmemor soporis, primo quietis nocturnę conticinio spreto fulgentis stratu cubilis clam ceteris de thoro surgit, puerum cubicularem tacitus excitat, codicellum manuali frequentia rugosum eripit, palatium nesciis custodibus egressus comite solum clientulo aspera montium cacumina, vallium exitialia precipitia, diverticulorum ac semitarum lapillosa vel glacię horrentia inter civitates itinera, continua psalmodum ceterarumque precum recitatione nudipes singulatim ecclesias quaeritando perlustrabat. In tantum itaque carnis afflictionem sufferens, ut scissis^b teneris plantis cruor defluus sparsim notasset vestigia. Domum autem reversus, quę mens interior gessit ipse dissimulando, principalium item vestibis ornamentorum solio residens induitur, sed caro mundissima cilicino subtus acumine dissultatur^c. Messis etiam imminente çstu tuto noctis silentio per agellum tritici manipulos ipse falcicula^d succidens gravi-que fasce propriis impositos humeris, in secretiore domus angulo abscondit; ibidemque trituras et inter saxa tritico fracto ac purgamentis agrestibus ad mundam excussionem a sanctis manibus ipsius diligenter cribrato, cum fontis aspersione, quem ipse solus presente tantum puerulo cum ydria producens vere Trinitatis invocatione signavit. Hanc farinulam massa naturali congestam in libas sacrificales sacerdotum manibus offerendas ille proprio manuum labore coqui parabat. Necdum autem secum deputans missarum se satisfecisse sollempniis, sed obedientię, quam divinitus iam didicit victimis laude praelatam, sapore delectatus, inter annuos processus adveniente vindemia clanculum accito nimię fidelitatis iam dicto sequaci vinearum septa noctu transiliens, fiscellulas utriusque dorso dependentes gravidis implens racemis,

^a inceptus *ms.*

^b cissis *ms. Zach.*

^c disculcatur *ms.*

^d fascicula *ms.*

which he ardently observed according to the law, that holy youth spent singular days even more venerably, in indefatigable prayers between his magnanimous dispensations offered to the poor. And during the nights, he kept vigils most serenely, disregarding gentle sleep; and with the first coming of nocturnal silence, he disdained reposing on his splendid bed, but secretly rose from it and silently awoke the young chamberlain, snatched the booklet that was worn out by the assiduous movements of his hands and went out of the palace without the knowledge of the guards. With only one servant as his companion, he wandered all over the sharp peaks of mountains and the deadly precipices of valleys, on tortuous paths and sideways between the cities, stony or rough with ice, barefoot and incessantly reciting the Psalms and other prayers, seeking out churches one by one. He suffered so much bodily affliction that the tender soles of his feet were all cut, and streaks of blood marked his traces here and there. As he returned home, he concealed what was happening in his soul and sat on the throne dressed in the adornment of royal vestments, but his chaste flesh was ploughed by the harshness of the hair shirt underneath. And when the harvest season came, he used to cut wheat in the field on his own with a small sickle, under the protective silence of the night and, loading the heavy bundle on his own shoulders, he would hide it in the secret corner of the house; there, he threshed and diligently sifted the wheat with his saintly hands in order to purge the dirt and obtain pure grain, which he then milled between stones; afterwards, he sprinkled the flour with water from the well, which he carried by himself in a jug, assisted only by a boy-servant, blessed it by invoking the true Trinity, and set on baking the sacrificial hosts which would be offered in communion by the priests, working them out with his own hands from unleavened dough. And he still considered that he had not done enough for the solemnity of the Masses, being in love with the taste of obedience, which he knew stood above sacrifice in God's praise, so when the grape harvest came in due time, he secretly summoned the above mentioned attendant, who was very loyal to him, and jumping over the fence of the vineyard at night and filling the baskets hanging on both sides of his back with clusters of grapes,

cellulam palatio remotiorem sibi que adeo caram furto laudabili revisit. Interim hospitoli foribus repagulorum cauta undique clausura munitis in vas huic congruum vindemiolae uvas pistillo conterens expressoque musti tenero liquore per linei sacculi mundam subtilitatem studiosissima castarum impressione manuum excolavit. Sicque diotē conscio solum clientulo infusum secretiusque repositum, considerata oportunitate inter clericos conprovinciales cum oblati, quas missali celebritati providendo ipse coquebat, sub mira divinorum communione^a distribuit. O indissolubile circa pectus castissimum fidei inviolabilis vinculum! O laudabilis obedientē sectatorem devotissimum! O principis miram humilitatem, servulorum officia divini amoris instinctu subire non pudentem! Qui mentis ardua contemplatione cēlestia, quae corde tenuit intuitus archana, reverendam ac salutiferam dominici corporis et sanguinis collationem tanto veneratus est ac dilexit obsequio, ut libaminis cultui cēlestis criminum contagia mundantis non fidei solummodo militasset constantia, verum etiam fontis purgatissimi exteriori instar servuli agrestis labore ac pia largicione sacerdotum religioni sortitus ipse fuisset.

Non latere autem benignam veri amatorum intentionem utile ducimus, quoniam honesta quorundam relatione futurorum certa presagia celitus iam doctum iuvenem in crebris erga res humanas eventibus prescisse ac familiarium sepe fidei per novos casuum terrores presignasse <experti sumus>^b. Cuius doni memorabilis gloriosam inter tot miraculorum preconia mentionem scribentis non reticet humillima devotio. Quia divinitus aperta visione noctis conticinio forte cuiusdam atrium presbyteri Pauli, quod amoenis et vastis ēdium munitur ambitibus, sub sancti Deoque pleni Vencezlavi clarissimo obtutu omni moenium cultu desertum et humanę passionis habitatione omnino comparuit alienum. Quod videlicet ipse, pulsa somni carnalis gravitate cordis speculatione

^a communicatione *ms.*

^b *experti sumus suppl. Eml.; lacunam susp. Zach.*

he returned to his dearest cell in the remote part of the palace with this praiseworthy booty. Then he fastened the gates of the chamber with bolts on all sides and, squashing the grapes of his little vintage with a pounder in an adequate jar, and squeezing out the delicate liquid of must, he strained this pure subtlety through a linen cloth by the most careful pressure of his chaste hands; and pouring it into a wine jug with the help of his servant alone, and depositing it in a secret place, he distributed it at an appropriate occasion among the clerics of his province at the wondrous divine communion, together with the wafers that he baked himself in provision of the celebration of the Mass. Ah what unbreakable and indissoluble bond of faith bound his chaste breast! Ah what a praiseworthy and most devout keeper of obedience he was! Ah how admirable was the humility of the ruler, who was not ashamed to take upon himself the tasks of servants, as he was touched by divine love! In the ardent contemplation of his soul, he venerated and loved the heavenly things that he kept concealed deep in his heart, as well as the honorable and salutary communion of the body and blood of our Lord, with such allegiance that he not only served the cult of heavenly offering, which purified the taint of sins, with a constancy of faith, but took part in the worship of the purest source by doing the work of a coarse servant and by being devoutly generous to the priests.

We do not consider it useful to conceal the benevolent exertion of lovers of truth; and we know from the telling of honest men that the youth, divinely instructed, had a certain foreknowledge of numerous events related to human affairs and that he often interpreted them as forestalling new and terrible adversities for people close to him. Therefore, the most humble and devoted scribe will not keep silent, but tell gloriously about his memorable gift among the other notices of miracles; for with his vision divinely opened in the stillness of the night, it appeared before the holy and most illustrious gaze of Wenceslas, full of God, that the court of priest Paul, which was fortified by delightful and huge rings of edifices, was deprived of all its well-tended bulwarks and entirely devoid of all signs of human presence. And when he threw off the weight of

pervigilis excitatus, quisdam, quae visa sunt, prudenti sermone innotescens subindeque quid verius futurum edita iam pronuntiasset cetensio, prophetanti^a ore edisserens, convocatos huiusmodi dictis alloquitur:

“Thoro me accubantem, dulces amici vosque, o familiares clientuli, noctis silentio gravis et alta sustulit visio; quoniam Pauli presbiteri porticum tota ædificiorum sublimitate ac hominum cultu videbam penitus desolatum. Quo viso mestus deicior ac internae pro Dei fidelibus sollicitudinis molestia consternor. Sed tamen ut immensa omnium cognitoris pietate in spem, qua credenti cuncta posse promissum est,¹ transferor, huius somni veritatem imminente iam casu [su]pernoscendam clarae solutionis interpretamento ad certam rei excussionem^b explanare aggredior.

Domorum namque visa destructio felicem meę Liudmilę,² sanctę ac venerabilis matronę, portendit obitum. Quę videlicet matris meę,³ tam genere quam operum etiam inquinacione gentilis, furiali cum aliquot ministris ad scelus eque paratis facta conspiracione, non multum hinc processuro tempore, clanculum irruentibus per-

^a prophetandi *ms.*

^b excessionem *ms.*

¹ *omnia possibilia credenti.* Mark 9: 23.

² Saint Ludmila (860–921), wife of Bořivoj I, Duke of Bohemia, Wenceslas's grandmother. During the reigns of her sons Spytihněv I and Vratislav I she had certain influence in the realm, but during the period before Wenceslas came of age actual power was in the hands of Drahomira, who conspired to murder her.

³ I.e. Drahomira (890– after 936), duchess of Bohemia, wife of Vratislav I, and Wenceslas's mother, stemming from the dynasty of the Hevellans. After the death of her husband, she was Wenceslas's regent and exiled Ludmila to her castle of Tetín, where the latter was murdered. Drahomira apparently favored the pagan party, which gained power during her regency (the legend mentions expulsion of the clergy and confiscation of their possessions); but the situation was drastically changed when Wenceslas came of age. He ordered the translation of Ludmila's remnants to the Church of St George and banned Drahomira from the court. However, they made peace and she remained at his side, because of which she had to flee after his murder to the Charvatians. The hagiography of Wenceslas and Ludmila created an extremely negative image of her,

bodily sleep and awoke to his senses, he proclaimed what he saw in prudent speech and uttered with his prophetic mouth what true future events this revelation was announcing, addressing those whom he had summoned in the following words:

“As I lay on my bed, o my sweet friends and domestic servants, in the silence of the night, there appeared a grave and deep vision; for I saw the courtyard of priest Paul completely devoid of all its sublime edifices and human care. I am sorrowful and cast down by what I have seen and dismayed by the inner trouble and my worries for the faithful of God. But still, as my immense faith in the Almighty gives me hope—since it has been promised to the believer that all things are possible to him that believes¹—I will proceed with offering an interpretation and a clear solution to the meaning of this dream, which will be verified in the events to come.

The destruction of homes in the vision foretells the happy death of my grandmother Ludmila,² a holy and venerable lady. My mother,³ namely, who is corrupted by paganism in her origin as well as her deeds, will conspire dreadfully with some attendants who are equally ready to commit the crime, so that the time will soon come when their perverse weapons will secretly force their way and my grandmother will suffer cruel martyrdom for the sake of Christ and the profession of faith. And the courtyard, as the vision testifies, the large space devoid of people, represents the pitiful expulsion of the

for example in the so-called *Christian's Legend* (*Vita et passio sancti Wenceslai et sancte Ludmille ave eius*, BHL 8825=5028), the most recent critical edition by Jar. Ludvíkovský, *Kristiánova legenda, Život a umučení svatého Václava a jeho baby svaté Ludmily* [Christian's Legend: The Life and Martyrdom of Saint Wenceslas and his grandmother, Saint Ludmila] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1978); and *Fuit in provincia Bohemorum* (BHL 5026), ed. Václav Chaloupecký, “Legendy o sv. Ludmile, o sv. Václavu a sv. Cyrilu a Metodějovi” [Legends of Saint Ludmila, Saint Wenceslas and St Cyril and Methodius], offprint from *Prameny X. století legendy Kristiánovy* [Tenth-century sources on Christian's Legend], *Svatováclavský sborník* II-2 (Prague: Státní tiskárna, 1939), 459–81. See also Martin Homza, *Mulieres suadentes. Presvedčajúce ženy. Štúdie z dejín ženskej panovníckej svätosti v strednej a vo východnej Európe v 10.-13. storočí* [Persuading women. Studies from the history of the holiness of the ruling women in Central and Eastern Europe in the 10th–13th century] (Bratislava: LÚČ, 2002).

versorum armis pro christiani nominis ac fidei professione corporis crudelem subibit passionem. Porticus autem, ut visio testatur, populis deserta amplitudo, clero nostro incluso tutamine miserabilem prefingit e regno expulsionem totiusque substantię non debitam amissionem. Enimvero execrabilis memoriae genitrix mea sectę vitali, quam pro toto posse confiteri, colere, cordetenus sequi et amare insto et posthac aliorum inrevocabilis instabo, mordaciter invidens, eosdem diversorum clericos ordinum, quia mecum sentire non negant, ope terrena privatos regno severius eiectionem iri molitur.”

Hac denique sagacis coniectura predivinationis mens veri conscia minime frustratur; sed ut interpretationis congrua sonuerunt indicia erga iam scriptę peremptionem matronę clerique longo adiacentium ambitu regionum in eius subiectionem, immo mitissimam largitatem, se prompte concedentis ferocem expulsionem, ordine incorrupto non longo post cuncta iam constat fuisse impleta. Qu[i]a videlicet gratiae spiritualis significativa prescientia iuvenis electi precordiis elucente parentes invidi admodum concussi, iugiter ipsum Christi constantissimum amatorem per satellitum vicinius suis adiunctorum consiliis furtiva alloquia commoventes, a proposito, quo devotius cęlestibus capessendis insistere decrevit, ob necessitates publicas ab eo providendas aliquatenus avellere conati sunt. Ipse autem cęlestis armaturę roboratus tutamine, huiusmodi familiarium sugestionum neniis sacras interdum aures palam regni primatibus quasi consentiens applicabat, cordis autem interna consideratione assensum in actibus denegat. Quia licet se quasi terroris humani specie simulasset cedentem templaque Dei aliquantum solito rarius sub publicis conventibus frequentasset, tamen quod mentis profunditate dilexit, operum mira constancia manifestavit: quia continuam precum divinarumque orationum seriem, quam parvo inscriptam libellulo diligentius occultiusque secum servando retinuit, repositis interim secularis negotii curis duodecies vel plus eo, quamvis interdum nisi sub secretiore cubiculi vel ipsius thalami silentio orandi locus concedi non posset, inter noctis vel diei certas vi-

clergy from the kingdom and their undeserved loss of all property. Indeed, my mother of accursed memory, murderously loathing the life-giving path—which I keep confessing, worshiping, following in my heart, and loving with all my might, and will irrevocably continue to do so in the future—is preparing to deprive those clerics of various orders, who do not deny feeling the same as I do, of their earthly belongings and to expel them callously from the kingdom.”

And in such discussion of sagacious foretelling his mind never faltered, aware of what was true; but in order that the disclosure should sound concordant with the interpretation concerning the mentioned perishing of the matron and the ferocious expulsion of the clergy, which were in a wide circle of territories subject to his rule because of the great mildness that he manifestly granted to them, soon afterwards it most surely all came true in each point and in an undisturbed order. When his relatives saw this portent foreknowledge, bestowed by spiritual grace, that shone in the breast of the elect youth, they were greatly struck by hatred and strove with joined forces to launch furtive rumors against the most constant lover of Christ through the retinue of courtiers that were closer to his counsel and to turn him away, in the name of public interests that he was supposed to provide for, from his intention to strive more devoutly to achieve celestial things. But he was sustained by the protection of heavenly weapons and, though he offered now and then his sacred ears to such murmurings of courtiers’ suggestions before the primates of the kingdom, as if he were agreeing with them, he denied his consent to all such actions by the inner consideration of his heart; thus, he feigned that he was giving in to the human kind of terror and frequented somewhat more rarely than usual the churches of God at the time of public assemblies, but he still manifested what he loved deeply in his heart in an admirable constancy of deeds; and postponing for a while his tasks of secular business, he would regularly read a set of prayers and divine sayings, which were written in a small booklet that he kept with him carefully hidden, although now and then the circumstances allowed him to pray only in the secret of his chamber or the silence of his bed; and he read

cissitudines casta intentione Cristum laudando ad finem usque perlegerat.

Transcursa interim annorum iuvenilium tam felici etate in virilis animi robur dux ipse altius conscenderat paulatimque suorum vana sectantium consilia viriliter abiciens, eorumque errabundam a vero ignorantiam non modicum abhominatus, die quadam militum et amicorum contione in palatio facta, huiusmodi ipsos effamine increpationis alloquitur: "O amici et fideles utinam Cristi! Cum ego litterali studio iam quondam parentum cura iniunctus doctrinas avidius hauserim, inter caetera magistrorum dicta quoddam apostoli scriptum addisco, quo ait: *Cum essem parvulus, loquebar ut parvulus, sapiebam ut parvulus, cogitabam ut parvulus; quando autem factus sum vir, evacuavi quae erant parvuli.*¹ Hac quippe sententia modo me ipsum intuendo, quoniam primo iam adeunte pueritia rerum omnium factorem vilis ego factura cognoscere eiusque servitio me implicari ardentius desidero, sed puer ego in principatum vestra censura patri mortuo natu fratribus maior succedens, per legum frena moderata et rem publicam Deo prestruente disposui et patriam contra infestantium molem pro viribus tutavi: vos autem, quia cordibus erga summam veritatem speculandam desides fideque mihi manetis dispares, quam plurimum in consiliis vestrae perversitati amabilibus, sed rectitudini admodum dissimilibus, satis mihi iniuriosos, hactenus iam patior. Qua districtione, si vita regnumque manebit incolume, posthac exsolutus vacabo, et iuxta scriptum retromissa iuventute vir effectus, quae sunt parvuli evacuabo; precepti actibus dominici, vestrae ulterius non obaudiens nequitiae, superna roboratus clementia insistam. Quocirca vanescat susurrationis vestrae adversum me conspiratio, cessent seque publicis conventibus inter vos consilia, pacis amor domi forisque in regno ferveat, negocia cuiuslibet utilitatis iudicum eversione non damnetur, parricidiorum scelera, quibus

¹ 1 Cor. 13: 11.

them twelve times or more until the end, in the fixed alternation of nights and days, praising Christ in chaste exertion.

As that happy age of youthful years passed, our duke rose in the vigor of manly spirit and little by little started to reject the futile counsels of his attendants, considerably appalled by their erring ignorance; and one day, as an assembly of soldiers and friends was taking place in the palace, he addressed them in the following enunciation of rebuke: "My friends and followers—I wish I could say—in Christ! When I was many years ago sent by my parents to study letters and I eagerly soaked in learning, among other sayings of the masters I became acquainted with a certain sentence of the Apostle, in which he says: *When I was a child, I spoke as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child. But, when I became a man, I put away the things of a child.*¹ In this sentence I see myself as well, since from the first, having entered boyhood, I desired most fervently to know the creator of all things, although I was just one of his vile creatures, and to engage in his service, but since I was only a boy when I succeeded my dead father on the throne by your decision as the eldest among my brothers, I governed the state, with the help of God, with moderate bridles of law and guarded the homeland against numerous assailants with all my might; and you, since in your hearts you refuse to reflect upon the highest truth and you remain divergent from me in your faith, have been very injurious to me with your counsels, which complemented your corruption but entirely contradicted the truth, and I have suffered that long enough; from now on, if my life and kingdom should remain unharmed, I will walk free from that restriction, leaving behind me my youth and being a man; I will abandon what belongs to a small boy, as it has been written, and take a stand, sustained by heavenly mercy, acting according to the Lord's precepts and no longer heeding your wickedness. Regarding that, your conspiracy of murmuring against me should come to an end; and your ferocious debates in public assemblies should cease. The love of peace should flourish in this kingdom, within and without. Useful dealings should no longer be condemned by the subversion of judges. Nobody should dare to

pollui soletis, a quoquam ultra non praesumantur. Hęc legis iniquamenta si summi regis metu non deseritis, nostra ira in scelerosos Dei zelo accensa quemcumque huiusmodi reum capite truncabit.” Finito excellentis alloquio iussionis nefastę participes coniurationis domum pavidı redeunt, superba mentium fastigia accepto sacri ducis potenti vigore coacti deponunt solitasque erga mirę sanctitatis virum insidias, quamvis ad modicum tempus, moliri desinunt. Iam tunc Deo serenante comprimuntur aliquantum sub eius manu barbarę motiones, surgunt autem catholicę religionis lęta incrementa: quoniam divino cultui templa dicata paulo ante infidelium neglectu cadentia stabili reparatione fundantur, clerici patria bonisque privati benigna largitate revocantur statimque non tantum restituta, verum sancti viri plurimis adaucta muneribus substantia locupletantur et tota per has partes tali sub principe elata congau-det ęcclesia.

Deinde clarius virtutum eius coruscante per orbem decore rei publicę commoda curioso ducis celitus armati regimine studiosus geruntur. Sed quę prius supernę dilectionis vigore peragenda instituuntur, vigilantı principis diligentia tanto minus negleguntur, quoniam, licet palatinę frequens cohortis latus utrumque circumstipaverit tumultuatio solita, tamen sagatius recolens assiduus pro se populoque incredulo orator inopumque promptissimus fautor, mesticia pressorum benignus consolator, eventu subitaneo raptorum compatiens adiutor, nulla interrumpente sęcularium mora perseverat.

Aut fraudulenta hostis impurissimi machinatione huiusmodi operum affectibus astu, si umquam poterit, antiquo perimendis minimum retardante, frater eius Bolezlav¹ ętate minor, mentis perver-

¹ Boleslav I was born ca. 915 and probably ascended the throne after murdering his brother Wenceslas in 929; he died between 967 and 973.

commit the crime of parricide, by which you often taint yourself. If you do not desist from these filthy transgressions of law in the fear of the supreme king, our anger against the criminals will be aroused in the zeal of God and we will decapitate everyone accused of such a thing.” As he finished this address of superior ordinance, the impious conspirers returned home in fear and were compelled, accepting the power and strength of the holy ruler, to abandon the arrogant depths of their minds and desist from setting up their usual snares around the man of admirable sanctity, although only for a short while. And already the barbarous commotions were somewhat suppressed under his hand, with God clearing the way; and the joyful growth of Catholic religion began; churches dedicated to the divine worship, only a while before falling in ruin because of the neglect of the infidels, were newly founded and steadily repaired; and the clerics, who had been deprived of their homeland and their goods, were summoned back with benevolent magnanimity; at once their property was not only restored, but also augmented, increased by the numerous gifts of the holy man; and the entire church rejoiced in that region, elated under such a ruler.

As the beauty of his virtue glittered more brightly throughout the world, the benefits of the state were well supplied by the attentive governing of the ruler armed from heaven. And what had been set before as something to be achieved by the strength of love of God, was by no means neglected by the diligence of the vigilant ruler, for although the usual tumult of the courtiers’ division was frequently oppressing him from both sides, this assiduous suppliant, the willing patron of the weak, the benevolent comforter of those oppressed by sorrow, and the compassionate helper of those seized by sudden misfortune, worshipped even more sagaciously, in his own name and that of the incredulous people, persisting and allowing no secular affairs to interrupt and delay him.

But since the deceitful machinations of the filthiest enemy, who aimed, if anyhow possible, to destroy the zeal for such deeds by his ancient cunning, did not tarry, the duke’s younger brother Boleslav,¹

sitate et actuum qualitate execrandus, diabolico tactu instinctus, furoris nequitia contra virum Dei sevienter armatus, regni fraterna manu rapiendi cupidus, cum nefario ministrorum ausu mortales exitii insidias sibi tendere quam plurimum conatus est. Sed divinitus predestinatione rem, postmodum tamen futuram, tum fuisse certum constat dilatam. Iam parvo interiacente tempore vir Deo carus voto salutari propositum obligavit, se Deo donante ecclesiam nobili operum artificio constructurum, Cristi eam victoriosique athletę eius beati Viti martiris¹ honori dicendam. Nec mora instat impiger facti, fervens autem propositi, missis Ratesponę sedi regię legatariis^a Tutonem episcopum,² totius prohibitatis virum, cuius diocesi tota subcluditur Boemia, supplici rogatu, quo idem opus Deo sacrandum eius licentia et assensu fieret, implorat.

Dato iuxta beati ducis vota ab episcopo permissu remissisque caritate nuntiis, artifices celeri iussione convocat: fervet opus, labor impatiens effulget, ecclesia ad perfecti ornatus extremam manum perducitur miroque metallorum fulgore decorata exornatur. Invitato iam dicto episcopo in honorem sancti Viti martiris consecratur;³ ibidemque plurima miraculorum, divina virtute [e] mortali-
bus gestorum, in presens usque signa coruscant. Nondum autem sitibundi erga Dei iusticiam pectoris adimpleta profunditate vir meritorum inaestimabilium, electus Dei Vencezlaus, <se>^b terreni fascies honoris, quos casu novit fragiles, depositurum fraternoque iuri principatus moderamina spontaneo affectu illaturum cogitavit,

^a legatariis *sscr. ms.*

^b *se suppl. Zach.*

¹ An early Christian martyr, murdered as a boy during the persecutions of Diocletian. His passion dates from ca. 600 and his cult spread first in Italy, and in the late ninth century through St Denis and Corvey to the Empire and to the East, especially Prague.

² Tuto was the bishop of Regensburg from 893–930. Zachová has observed, however, that Wenceslas would not have needed the permission of the bishop to establish the monastery, referring to the later analogy of Bishop Wolfgang of Regensburg granting permission to the foundation of the Prague bishopric. See Zachová, *Legendy*, 123, n. 18; Třeštík, *Počátky*, 258.

who should be cursed for the corruption of his mind and the nature of his deeds, was incited by the devil's touch and, furiously armed with wicked rage against the man of God, lustful to snatch away the kingdom from his brother's hands, endeavored to devise the most deadly trap of destruction with the abominable cunning of his attendants. But as it is known, the deed that was already determined, but would happen only in the future, was postponed by divine predestination. Not much time passed before that man dear to God upheld by a salutary vow his intention that, if God should give it, he would build a church with a noble artifice of craftsmen and dedicate it to the honor of Christ and his victorious athlete, the blessed martyr Vitus.¹ And he did not tarry, but set upon his task with enthusiasm; fervent in his intention, he sent legates to the royal see at Regensburg to beseech Bishop Tuto,² a man of utmost goodness, to whose diocese all of Bohemia was subjected, that the work might be done and the church consecrated to God with his permission and consent.

After the bishop had given his permission with regard to the vows of the blessed ruler and the legates were dismissed with affection, Wenceslas summoned craftsmen with a quick order: the work was searing, the effort glowed impatiently, and the church was given the last touch of perfect adornment, embellished and decorated by the wondrous gleam of precious metals. The mentioned bishop was invited and the church was consecrated to the honor of the holy martyr Vitus;³ and numerous signs of miracles still shine there today, performed by God's power in mortal men. But as the depths of his breast yearning for God's justice were not yet filled, God's elect Wenceslas, that man of inestimable merit, devised to depose the scepter of earthly honor, which he knew was fragile and easily ruined, and to give over the rudders of the kingdom to the command of his brother by his own free will; for he yearned with an

³ On the foundation and consecration of St Vitus's monastery, see Třeštík, *Počátky*, 255–9; according to Cosmas (I, 18), the monastery was already there at the time of Boleslav I, who asked the then bishop Michael (941–972) to consecrate it. See Zachová, *Legendy*, 123, n. 19.

necnon Romae liminibus apostolorum orationis gratia quæritandis sub domni apostolici sacra auctoritate sæcularibus se renuntiaturum monachicoque habitu vestiendum eaque conversatione vitæ temporalis extrema visurum interni ardoris siti anhelavit. Sed largissimi remuneratoris providentia aequis semper meritorum^a recompensationibus se dignos glorificante, maiora huic cælestium consorti servare dignata est certamina, ut post horum nobiles triumphos nobiliora captet et premia.

Quoniam vesano germani Bolezlavi regni desiderio, quoquo modo posset, acquirendi per multimodas insidiarum versutias in sanctum Dei exardescere iter Romae tendendum intercipitur, profanæ gentis cotidiana conspiratio domiciliorum latibulis furtive densatur ipsiusque fratris invidia magis magisque diabolo fomitem prebente accenditur. Nequaquam tamen omnium sevitia in sanctissimi viri occultam necem coniuratorum beatam futuri diem trophæi ante Dei praesignationem accelerare valuerunt. Frater autem sceleris in eum luendi satis impatiens, ceteras fraudes in eius cædem non debere visum est diutius prosecuturum, verum unam aliis aptiorem—nefas potius maturari—ac cautius inventam delegit. Nam cunctorum armis vestium contractura dolose latentibus simulataque pace, amor sub fraterno obtutu quasi verus fingitur, qui magis nocendi facultate querenda monstratur.

Sub cuiusdam vero festivæ diei exultabili ortu infelix ille fraudis amicus domum propriam omni ornamentorum copia, quæ huic genti umquam moris erant habenda[m], quam studiose fulgidam fecit; convivium plus solito parandum ministris indixit; amicos sub hylaritatis specie invitavit; ipsiusque principis supplex ingressus palatium, conviviis eum interesse fraternis primo omnium, quo dignaretur, corrogavit. Cuius mansuetudini, quamvis falsæ, Deo dignus Vencizlaus multum congaudens atque consertis in-

^a meritorum *SSC7: ms.*

inner thirst of fervor to visit Rome and the tombs of the apostles for the sake of prayer, renounce his secular power under the holy authority of the apostolic lord, and take on the habit in order to spend the rest of his earthly existence living as a monk. But the providence of the most magnanimous compensator, always glorifying those who are worthy of it with appropriate rewards of merits, granted harder combats to this companion of heaven, in order that such noble triumphs might also bring him to nobler awards.

Since the insane desire of his brother Boleslav, who wanted by all means to get hold of the kingdom, raged in all sorts of cunning snares against the saint of God, the journey towards Rome was impeded; the furtive conspiracy of profane people in the hidden corners of the palace was becoming more acute every day and the brother's envy was more and more enflamed, the devil supplying the tinder. Still, the cruelty with which all these conspirers planned to murder the saintliest man in secret could by no means hurry the future blessed day of his laurels, not before God would give the sign. But although his brother was becoming impatient for the crime that was unfolding in him, he saw that it made no sense to pursue deceptions against Wenceslas any longer and chose rather to allow that one crime to ripen which was more fitting than the others and which he had carefully designed. Deceitfully collecting all his weapons under the secret sleeves of his garments, and feigning peace, he played genuine love under his brother's gaze, although in reality he was only looking for an opportunity to harm him more severely.

Thus, at the joyful dawn of that festive day, the friend of deceit made his own house shine with special attention, abounding with all sorts of decoration that were ever customary among that people; he ordered to his servants that they should prepare a richer banquet than otherwise; he invited friends with the pretext of joyfulness; and entering the palace of the ruler in supplication, he asked him to honor him by being present at his banquet as the first among all. Wenceslas, worthy of God, rejoiced very much at this gentleness, even though it was fake, so they took each other's arm and entered the

vicem manibus domum gaudio introeunt. Epulis discumbunt. Vinoque post longum quisdam ferocium convivarum saturatis fraus conflata diu latere nesciens, eos quasi unanimiter in sancti viri necem accendit. Qui malivoli mucronibus veste iam tectis ter surgentes terque iterum quasi quodammodo lassi sedibus se inclinantes, viribus saltim et audacia omnino emolliti, eo quod nondum divinitus iussa venerit passionis hora, inlesum eum dimiserunt. Huius rei ipse haut inscius, periculo non pavidus, divini tutaminis securitate animatus, quamvis cuiusdam clientuli in aurem susurrantis cautela, quomodo contra eum moliti fuerint, pręstrueretur, sede tamen non motus, fratrem ceterosque considentes exhilarari, quasi ospitis grata vice, amabiliter rogavit. Et paulo post amota mensa surgit impletaque vino patera modestę salutationis dicto omnes dulciter huiusmodi alloquitur: “Salutet vos salus omnium Cristus! Calicem, quem manu teneo, in sancti archangeli Michahelis amorem ebibere unumquemque nostrum ne pigeat, hoc amore spiritualitatis eius altitudinem pro posse venerantes, ut quacumque hora lex naturae ad extrema nos deduxerit, animarum nostrarum paratus susceptor clemensque in paradisi voluptates dignetur fieri subvector, cordium imis precemur!” Statimque post verbum laetus ebibit, singilatim omnibus eodem amore singulos scyphos^a ebibendos blandissimo propinat osculo. Intrepidus autem sumptis tam honeste epulis, uti divino iussu res differtur, domum inlęsus revisit.

Noctis autem sequentis cursu orationum ac elemosinarum curiosissima desudans instantia, futuri conscius, mortis pro Cristo iura pati devotus, pernoctavit. Redeunte autem post gallicinia matutinalis hore officio, pulso signaculo, non segnis thoro, ut iam est solitus, prosiliens ꝑcclesiamque properando ingressus, cantum nocturnalem laudesque matutinales modesta intentans auscultacione,

^a cyphos *ms. Zach.*

house in joy. They sat down to eat. And after some time, as the ferocious participants of the banquet became intoxicated with wine, the long-kindled fraud could no longer be kept secret and incited them almost unanimously to kill the holy man. The foes, hiding their swords covered under their clothes, arose three times and then three times tilted back to their chairs as if they were somehow weary and suddenly completely drained of energy and courage, because the hour of Wenceslas's passion, as ordered by God, had not yet arrived, and so they left him unharmed. Although he knew about that, he was not afraid of the danger, since he was enlivened by divine protection; and although some of his attendants were setting him on his guard by murmuring words of warning into his ear about what those men had planned against him, he did not move from his place, but kindly asked his brother and other men who were sitting at the table to be merry, as if agreeably adopting the role of the host. And shortly afterwards, when the table was cleared, he arose, his bowl filled with wine, and addressed everybody in a sweet voice and with this tempered greeting: "May Christ, the salvation of all, save you! Let none of us be sorry to drink from the cup that I hold in my hand in sign of love for the holy Archangel Michael, and let us, who venerate with love his spiritual majesty as much as we can, beseech him from the depths of our hearts that, in whichever hour the laws of nature should lead us to death, he might deign to be the merciful receiver and the ready carrier of our souls into the delights of paradise!" And immediately after this speech, he cheerfully drank from the wine and handed his goblet to each and every one with a most tender kiss, so that they might drink to that same love. Then, fearless, having taken his meal with such candor, he returned home unharmed since the divine ordinance was postponed.

During the following night, he stayed awake, fatiguing himself in most remarkable perseverance with prayers and almsgiving, aware of what was ahead of him and resolved to suffer death for Christ. After the break of day, when the hour of Mass came and the bell was rung, instead of going slowly to bed as was his custom, he leaped forward and hastily entered the church; he listened with temperate

post plurimas oraciones domum lassis membris aliquantum somno reficiendis divertitur. Rubente iam primum aurora execrabili memoria scribendus Belezlaus, viri sancti germanus, perversitatis auctor, quae prius arma contra innocentem latenter commoverit non inmemor, specu, quo latuit more lupino, cum ex adverso agnum furtive lacerandum irruit, ipse cum aliquot sequacibus huic sceleri comparibus furibunde progressus et mucrone succinctus, viro simplici media via obvius restitit. Quem sanctus ipse mitissima inter salutando benignitate ita alloquitur: “Ave, frater dilecte! grates immensę dilectioni tuę a nobis sint relatę, quia honorifice disposito^a heri convivio bene nobis et satis iucunde ministrasti.” Tam dulci pessimus ille non respondens allocutioni, sed extracto cicui ense in sancti capitis verticem, ut fortius valet, percutiens, ait: “Melius hodie tibi preparavero convivium!” Sed ferro resiliente et nec vulneris tandem signum annotante geminatur ictus. Quo nihilo magis ledente tercio ferire cum velit, una cum extenso ictus ensis manu terrii militis excidit. Quem statim sanctus Vencezlaus per capulum^b surripiens et supra scelerosum fratris iam inermis verticem manu librans: “Videsne”, inquit, “o funeste? Verti in te posset tuę crudelitatis exitium. En, unde prohibeor fraterni sanguinis fieri effusor? Sed nolo, de manu mea ultimo examine sanguis, o frater, tuus quęratur in me. Recipe gladium, matura supplicium; quę sunt agenda, ne differas in longum!” Resumpto iterum frater impius ferro altum, quasi vinci metuens, clamat, in auxilium sui socios vocat, se quasi coactum et a fratris impetu prius lęsum repugnare simulat. Mox sotii magno clamore vocati accurrunt, causam quasi sceleris inscii de tumultu quęrunt, domini sui fervidam sentiunt iram. Eoque iam tunc sceleris auctore quarta vice sacrum caput per ictum saltim confringente omnes simul armis irruunt, certatim membra lanceis gladiisque perfodiunt. Corpus sauciatum humi prosternitur

^a deposito *ms.*

^b capulam *Zach.*

attendance to the nocturnal chanting and the morning lauds, and after numerous prayers he went home in order to refresh a little his weary limbs in sleep. At the first reddening of the dawn, Boleslav, the brother of the holy man and the author of perversity, whose name would be written in accursed memory, remembered how he had earlier secretly drawn his arms against the innocent man, hiding like a wolf in his cave, who furtively attacks a lamb from behind in order to tear it apart; now, together with several attendants, progressed in rage towards this crime and, girded with a sharp sword, stepped in the middle of the way, face to face with the simple man. The saint greeted him with most gentle benevolence, with the following words: "Hail, my beloved brother! We wish to express our immense thanks to your love, since yesterday you served us with that honorably and very merrily arranged banquet." The villain did not respond to that sweet address, but drew his sword briskly and struck the top of the holy head as hard as he could, exclaiming: "I will prepare a better banquet for you today!" But the sword sprang back and, since it had not left a slightest mark of a wound, he struck the second time. As this blow did not inflict any more harm than the first, he was just about to strike for the third time, but as he raised his hand to it, the sword fell out of the terrified soldier's hand. Saint Wenceslas immediately grabbed it by the hilt and balanced it above the infamous head of his now defenseless brother: "Don't you see, you dismal man?" he said, "Your mischievous cruelty could turn against you now. There! What prevents me from becoming the one who spills his brother's blood? But I do not want, my brother, that your blood should be asked from my hand at the last judgment. Take the sword, complete the sacrifice; do not postpone any longer what is to be done!" As the irreverent brother received back his sword, he cried out loudly, as if in fear of being defeated, and called his companions to help him, pretending that he was compelled to fight back and that he was first wounded by his brother's attack. Directly the companions came running, attracted by the great outcry, and asked their lord about the reason for the tumult, as if ignorant of the crime, feeling his ardent rage. As the author of the crime shattered the holy head with the blow of the sword for the fourth time,

semivivum. Crebrescunt iterum iterumque sevę gladiatorum percusiones, sanguis innocuus effunditur, corpus labe vacuum minutatim^a quasi a canibus laceratur. Anima sacratissima carnei clausura domicilii sub tot vulnere exuta tormentis, nobili triumpho angelicis subvecta manibus, summi remuneratoris aspectum gaudio visura et inter gloriosos martirum ordines per evum consessura, sub IIII^{or} Kalendarum Octobrium perpetuo letantia regni celestis ingreditur consortia.

Sacrum autem corpus credulorum pauci, qui aderant, venerabiliter sarcofago includentes, celebrato a clericis funebri obsequio extra aecclesiam certaminis loco vicinam condiderunt. Succedente post hinc in regnum nimie perversitatis duce Bolezlavo sevitiaque eius in catervas fidelium furente, non multo post beati viri <necem>^b, humana dum fruitur vita, clericos et amicos necnon servicio eius familiariter iunctos subita mortis sententia damnavit.

Peracta fortissimi Dei atletę venerabili passione ministri quidam sanguinem, qui per tabulas aecclesiae ipsa martirii hora aspersus apparet, iussi aqua lavantes, penitus absterserunt. Posteraque die illuc venientes, non minus quam cum^c primum parieti adhaesit, cruorem ipsum eodem loco dilatatum conspiciunt. Non parum ipsi hoc viso territi aqua iterum allata multo studiosius abluere decertant. Crastino autem probandi causa, si etiam adhuc frustrati sint, redeuntes, non minus tinctum sanguine parietem, quamvis ter ablutus videatur, agnoscunt. Quibus multum super hoc mirantibus eoque abluendi labore post inde cessantibus usque hodie sanguinis eiusdem intinctione paries ipse pro signo venerando nitescit.

^a minuatim *ms.*

^b necem *suppl. Zach.*

^c cum *sscr. ms.*

everyone grabbed their weapons at once and pierced eagerly Wenceslas's limbs with their lances and swords. The injured body fell prostrated upon the earth, half dead. Again and again, savage blows of swords were falling; guiltless blood was flowing; the body, free of sin, was torn in small pieces as if by dogs. The most sacred soul, liberated under so many tortures of wounds from the enclosure of its fleshly dwelling and given over to the hands of angels in noble triumph, entered the jubilant divisions of the heavenly kingdom forever on 28 September, in order to gaze at the face of the supreme remunerator in joy and sit among the glorious orders of martyrs in eternity.

And as the few believers who were present placed the sacred body into the sarcophagus with awe, and after the clerics had celebrated the funerary mass, they founded a church outside, nearby the place of the fight. Afterwards, Duke Boleslav of extreme perversity succeeded to the throne and raged furiously among the crowds of believers. Soon after the murder of the blessed man, he condemned to death by short sentence all clerics and friends of Wenceslas's, as well as those who were closely attached to him in service while he still enjoyed human life.

After the passion of the most steadfast athlete of God had taken place, some servants were ordered to wash away the blood that had appeared sprinkled all over the boards of the church at the hour of martyrdom, and they thoroughly wiped it off with water. When they came the other day, they saw that the same blood was spread sticking to the same place on the wall as the day before. They were considerably frightened when they saw that, but they brought again some water and made an effort to wash it off very carefully. But on the next day, when they returned in order to check whether their effort had again been in vain, they realized that the wall was just as stained as ever, although it had been wiped off three times. They wondered very much at that and from that day ceased with their efforts to wash the wall, so that it shines forth even today with its tincture of blood, which is a venerable sign.

Ut veracium sepe^a nobis relatu patefactum est, post constantissimi triumphum athletę omnes sanguinis effusores innocentis superno incussi furore aut demonum potestate rapti inter homines postea non comparuerunt, aut versa pro viciis natura canum latratu vice loquendi utentes, dentium stridore morsus imitantur caninos, aut misera corporum ariditate siccati necnon auditus continua privatione vitam ipsis saltim odiosam finierunt.

Quiescente ibidem per trium spatia annorum venerando corpore fidelibus quisdam nocte visum est, ut Deo rem insinuante inde ad ecclesiam sancti Viti martiris, quam ipse iam construxerat, religiosiore condendum sepultura transferri debeat. Qui somno emersi viso credentes, et licet principis tyrannidem metuentes,¹ noctis tamen medio conticinio bustum, quam pavidi recludunt, preciosum martyris pignus non aperto sarcofago vehiculo percaute ligatum superponunt viamque, qua gressus eo dirigitur, carpentes, perveniunt ad rivum, incedendo supergredi animalibus plastrum ducentibus nimia profunditate intransibilem, naviculis et portu utrimque carentem. Stant quippe circumspicientes. Pons iam fractus undosa transgressione dissipatur, ligna ad eius reparationem non inveniuntur. Quid facerent? Dum in hac versantur angustia, subito erectis obtutibus, ecce, mira Dei presente virtute plastrum altera stat ripa, undique secus aque humiditate intactum. Quo miraculo ipsi aliquantum hesitantes, transnatato supra caballos rivulo vehiculum sacro fasce gravatum prosecuti, ad locum predestinatum citius applicant. Ecclesiam cum sarcofago Deum laudando introeunt foribusque diligentius obseratis precibusque sin-

^a sepe *sscr. ms.*

¹ Gumpold took over this version of the event from the earlier legend *Crescente fide* (BHL 8823), which likewise speaks about the unknown men who acted upon a vision and feared Boleslav would find out about their undertaking—contrary to the so-called *First Church Slavonic Legend*, which ascribes the deed to the penitent Boleslav. Other legends, such as the *Second Church Slavonic Legend* and *Christian's Legend* (dated as somewhat more recent than Gumpold's), combine the two versions of the events, the latter even adding that Boleslav ordered the men to be executed should they fail to accomplish their task before the dawn. Dušan Třeštík, "Translation und Kanonisation des heiligen Wenzel durch Boleslaw I.," in: *Die Heiligen und ihr Kult*

As it has been truthfully related to us many times, after the triumph of the most steadfast athlete, all those who spilt his innocent blood were struck by anger from above and were either seized by the power of demons and never appeared again among people, or they changed their nature and began to bark like dogs instead of speaking, imitating the dog's bite by gnawing their teeth; or again, they withered in pitiful dryness of body and, forever deprived of their hearing, soon ended their hateful life.

As the believers venerated Wenceslas's body in that place for the period of three years, one night they saw in a vision that, with God making the way, his tomb should be transferred to the church of Saint Vitus the martyr, which Wenceslas himself had founded, in order that it might be honored more piously. When they woke up from sleep, they believed what they had seen and, although they feared the tyranny of the ruler,¹ they anxiously laid open the tomb in the midnight stillness and placed the precious token of the martyr, without having opened the sarcophagus, on a cart, binding it carefully; and choosing the way on which their step was being led, they came down to a stream, where the wagon drawn by animals could not cross because of its great depth and because there was neither a boat, nor a harbor. They stood there and looked around. The bridge had long been broken and was falling apart in the billowy passage; and they could not find any wood to repair it. What were they to do? As they were thus anxiously deliberating, suddenly they lifted their eyes, and there, by the admirable power of God, the wagon was standing on the other shore, completely untouched by water or moisture. Somewhat perplexed by this miracle, they swam through the rivulet on their horses and, following the vehicle laden by the sacred bundle, quickly approached the predestined place and entered the church with the sarcophagus, praising God. Then they carefully unfastened the lid and, pouring out sincere prayers,

im Mittelalter, ed. Eva Doležalová et al. (Prague: Filosofia, 2010), 341–62, esp. 349–52. See also Michal Lutovský, *Bratrovrah a tvůrce státu. Život a doba knížete Boleslava I.* [A fratricide and state founder: The life and times of Duke Boleslav I] (2nd revised ed. Prague: Set out, 2006), 111ff.

ceriter effusis sarcophagum aperiunt: et ecce, corpus carnea adhuc mole integrum et per cuncta vulnera sanum apparentibus tantum plagarum signis, nisi solum vulnus fraterno ense factum, quod se dehiscens sanguine visum est manare. Incluso iterum sub ipso altaris aditu, comitante fidelium turba interque sonantibus clericorum ymnis, preciosum corpus celebri memoria venerandum condiderunt. Ibi vero divina sepius coruscante omnipotentia innumerabilibus miraculorum signis felix exultatio fidelibus terrorque incredulis tanti viri meritis frequentissime clarescit. [III]^a Cuius autem translationis tempus sub IIII Non. Marcii mortalibus celebrandum annotatur. De virtutibus autem, quæ pietas divina per meritorum eius orbi clarescentem gloriam post dignata est operari, sermonis nostri transcursu curiosa interseratur mentio, condignum videtur.

Quidam crimine iudiciario capti, palatium sub vinculis ingressi, principis iussu carceri includuntur, tenatioribus infra ligaminibus per manus ac pedes sub crudeli custodia implicantur. Qui media nocte, ut erat necesse, pervigiles, strictura compedum ac manicarum miserabiliter contriti, gemitu amaro corda pulsantes, in huiusmodi verba orationis dormitante parum custode omnes simul flendo proruperunt: “O summe gementium consolator Deus, caeli terraeque mirabilis creator, aspice nos mortis iuri destinatos et per suffragia dilecti tui Vencezlavi militis, qui semper iam in mundo vivus, miseris pro tuo nomine benignus extitit defensor, ab instanti damnatione educere nos miserrimos dignare.” Facta oratione, media pars carceris, qua custodes stantes vigilabant, repente tota quasi aere densissimo obnubilatur; extinctisque intus ardentibus vigilum lucernis cetera pars, qua vincti iacent, quasi sole clarissimo serenatur. Et ecce, vox repentina, cœlitus, ut vere credendum est, emissa, vinctis in aures tonat, ut surgant, indicit. Qui ergo tam pavore

^a IIII exp. Zach.

opened up the sarcophagus; and there, the body was intact in its flesh and healed of all wounds, merely their traces showing; only the wound that had been inflicted by his brother's sword was split open and oozing with blood. They closed the lid again and deposited the precious body before the very altar, in the presence of a great number of believers and with clerics singing hymns, in order that it might be venerated there in illustrious memory. There the divine omnipotence often glowed for the merits of that great man and very frequently shone forth in numerous miraculous signs, causing happy rejoicing by the faithful and inflicting terror upon the unbelievers. The date of his translation is noted down for celebration on the fourth of March. And it seems worthy to us that we should include within our story some devout mentions of his miracles, which divine affection afterwards deigned to perform, so that the glory of his merits might shine throughout the world.

Some men that were arrested on account of their crime entered the palace in chains and were enclosed in the prison at the ruler's order, tied up in very tight bonds at their hands and feet and under strict custody. In the middle of the night, awake as they had to be, since they were pitifully bruised by the tightness of shackles and handcuffs, they were beating their chests in bitter tears and, while their guard was briefly asleep, burst crying all at once in the following words of prayer: "O God, you who comfort those who are crying, who wondrously created heavens and earth, look at us, destined to die by law, and deign to lead us, most miserable men, out of the impending ruin by the intercession of your beloved soldier Wenceslas, who was during his lifetime always acting in your name as a benevolent defender of those in misery." When their prayer was finished, suddenly the middle part of the prison, in which the guards were placed to watch, became clouded as if filled entirely with very dense air; and as the lanterns of the guards that were burning inside were extinguished, the other part, in which the prisoners were lying in chains, brightened up as if with the most brilliant sunshine. And there, suddenly a voice was heard from heavens, as is truly to be believed, and thundered into the ears of the prisoners, ordering

quam læticia stupefacti, membra silenter movent; statimque vincula in partes disrupta decidunt, manus solvuntur ac pedes apertoque divinitus carceris hostio læti exiliunt. Ita Dei nutu expediti, laudes Cristo sanctoque eius martiri Vencezlavo inter populos referunt immensaque virtutum eius mirabilia constantissime et credentes et ammirantes propagare decertant.

Inter quos gentilis quidam, baptismi gratia nondum mundatus, cum se iam per beati merita Vencezlavi morte liberatum senserit, ad fidei catholicę veram agnitionem devotus convertitur, salubri lavacro purgatur firmataque fide ac Dei in se confixo amore natum unicum, quem eque propria vita dilexit, in clericatus officium Dei servicio ad beati martiris aecclesiam se daturum promisit. Hoc postmodum impleto credens ipse Deoque serviens satis longam perduxit etatem.

Quicquid aliud non minus succedit miraculum. Iuenculum quendam cubicularium, nomine Podiwen, ceteris fideliores servulis eiusque secretis aptiorem, vir sanctus iam seculo vivens admodum amavit; cuius etiam superius meminit scriptum.¹ Qui karissimo privatus domino lamenta tristis per dies frequentavit et non minus plura factorum eius exempla, quorum ipse conscius est, inter multos laudando dilatavit. Quo dux vesanus comperto rapidissima succensus ira, suspensio mox eum interire iubet. Suspensus namque, ut vera bonorum testantur dicta virorum, post biennium non aliter, quam viva et sana solent hominum capita, florenti canicie per pilos crescere atque candescere visus est.

Interea captus quidam severa iudicis sententia in similem carceralis custodię poenam altera die perimendus intruditur et prioribus so-

¹ Actually Podiven is here mentioned by name for the first time, but the author most likely refers to the servant who assisted Wenceslas in producing wafers and wine earlier on. The translation of his relics to Prague is recorded by *Cosmas of Prague, Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Boemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, MGH SS n.s. 2 (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), 3: 55, 228.

that they should rise. They were stunned by both fear and joy and moved their limbs in silence; immediately the chains fell off, broken in pieces, and their hands and feet were released; the gate of the prison was divinely opened and they came out rejoicing. Liberated thus at God's will, they brought among the peoples praises to Christ and his holy martyr Wenceslas and took to proclaiming incessantly, with faith and admiration, his boundless miracles of virtue.

There was among them a certain pagan, who was not yet cleansed by the grace of baptism, and as he realized that he had been saved from death by the merits of blessed Wenceslas, he converted piously to the true knowledge of Catholic faith and was purged through the salutary rite of baptism. When he was confirmed in his faith and the love of God was firmly fixed in him, he promised that he would give his only son, whom he loved as his own life, into the clerical office, to serve God at the church of the blessed martyr. He afterwards fulfilled this and, believing and serving God himself, he lived into a very old age.

This miracle was followed by another, equally great one. When the holy man was still living in this world, he loved very much a youthful chamberlain by the name of Podiven, who was more loyal than the other servants and more suitable for keeping his secrets; we have mentioned him already in this writing.¹ Deprived of his dearest master, this youth walked around for days in sad lamentations and spread out his praise among many people with a great number of examples of things that his master had done and of which he knew. As the insane duke discovered this, he was enflamed by a sudden rage and ordered that the youth should be killed by hanging at once. But the hanged man was seen after two years, as the true statements of some men testify, with abundant hairs growing on his head and becoming grey, just as they usually do on the living and healthy heads of men.

At the same time, another prisoner was by the severe sentence of the judge thrust in a similar punishment of custody in prison in

lutis multo strictius vincitur. Qui etiam amarissime flendo sanctum Dei Vencezlaum intimis ad sui auxilium precibus vocavit, dicens: “Sancte Dei martyr, si tantum, ut homines dicunt, apud altissimum Deum obtinere vales, interveni pro me morituro, ut tuis liberatus meritis, ad criminum purganda commissa miser ego presente aliquantum diutius vita subsistam.” Statimque ut oratum est ruptis quam fortiter vinculis, Dei gratia nesciis custodibus carcere est exsolutus. Sed extra astantibus paganorum latronibus iterum captus, nimium constringitur et dum longius sub vinculis precio, quo possit, commutandus transfertur, priorem repetit oracionem: ac mansuefactis gentilium cordibus sponte eum solvunt ac dimittunt. At ita denuo liberatus, laudes Deo et beato duci per terras eundo magnificavit.

Mansisse fertur eadem civitate, qua sanctum requiescit corpus, mulier quędam visu orbata, manuum recurva inflexione ab ipso iam ortu contracta, omni usu manibus per naturam concesso privata. Quę videlicet reverso per annum die festivo ecclesiam sancti Viti martyris ingressa et ante sepulchrum beati Vencezlavi, quo desideravit, ducta, orans prostrata, tamdiu precibus lugendo perseverat, quoad cunctis cernentibus sancti viri meritis visu inluminatur et manuum salva restitutione instauratur.

Postea quoque captus quidam ab his, quibus aliquantum pecunię sub acomodacionis pacto debuit, diuque sub vinculorum distractione, quo debitum solvat, contritus est. Sed ceteris imminentibus negociis aliquo per urbem ipsi vagantes, vinctum interim eum inter viam publicam et ecclesiam deforis sub custodia iacentem dimiserunt. Ille media versatus angustia, manus contra

order to be executed the next day; and they took off his chains and tied him with stronger ones. He also cried bitterly and, praying from the depths of his heart, called upon Wenceslas, the saint of God, to help him, saying: "O holy martyr of God, if you can obtain it with the highest God, as people say, intervene for me, who is going to die, so that I, a pitiful man, might be liberated by your merits and remain in this life for a while longer in order to purge the crimes I have committed." Immediately as he said this prayer, his chains burst with a crash and he was released from the custody by the grace of God, without the knowledge of his guards. However, he was captured again by the pagan robbers, who were standing outside, and firmly bound; and as he was transported a long way in chains, so that he would be exchanged for a greater ransom, he repeated his former prayer; and the hearts of the pagans were softened and they unbound and sent him away of their own free will. And as he was again liberated, he began to walk around various countries and to exalt and praise God and the blessed duke.

It is said that there was a woman in the town in which the holy body was resting, who was devoid of her eyesight and from her birth her hands were curved in a cramp so that she was deprived of all use of them that nature might have given. But as the feast day came, she entered the church of Saint Vitus the martyr and was led to the tomb of blessed Wenceslas as she wished; there she prayed in prostration and persisted in her prayers wailing for so long that she was, before the gaze of all, illuminated by eyesight through the merits of the holy man, and she was also requited with the healthy restitution of her hands.

Later there was another prisoner, who owed some money to certain people under a settled deal and was pressed for a long time, being kept in bondage, to return his debt. But while they were walking through the town with him, they were urged by some other imminent business and left him in the meantime lying in the open, under guard, between the public road and the church. Driven by anxiety, he raised his hands against the gate of the church

portam ecclesię levavit, hoc modo precatus: “O dux mitissime martirque sanctissime, cum iam multos ab impiorum manibus sanctitas tua ad magnum Deum intercedendo eripuerit, exoro miser, ne me obliviscaris ligatum, sed solita pietate hinc me facias exsolutum.” Crescente cicius Dei clementia beati martiris precibus quasi ferrea acie concisa subito dissotiantur vincula ipseque Dei templum grates rependendo ingressus prolatisque ad Deum et sanctos martires orationibus liber domum remeavit.

Francorum igitur provincia vir quidam incessu ab ipsa iam infantia carens et viciata natura non gressibilis sed reptilis per terram se contrahendo incedens, nocte quadam per soporem visione intremuit, quoniam mire pulchritudinis vir, albis indutus, lectulo assistens, claudum excitat ac salutem monstrat, dicens: “Quoquo modo valeas, o pauper, surge, ac Pragam, Boemiae in^a civitatem, quamvis omni data pro vehiculo, quo feraris, substantia, proficiscere. Eoque perventus ecclesiam sancti Viti martyris, qua sanctum Vencezlavi martiris corpus requiescit, ingreditor; factaque oracione ibidem gressus praeter omne dubium recipies sanitatem.” Qui somno emersus iussa neglegens, somni se delusum credens, iter impositum omnino differt. Nocte autem insecuta cubil pauper quiescens eundem tante claritatis seniore lectulo iterum cernit adstantem, qui eum hoc modo redarguens ait: “Pauper amande, somno excitare, visionis huius verum agnosce presagium. Unde misero tibi neglegentia corpus debile curandum? Cur iter ad propriam salutem nuper mea tibi indictum visione distulisti?” Qua increpationis asperitate claudus evigilans, pulso auditus dubio veritatis non inscius, respondit: “Proficisci non moror, o pie ac venerabilis senior!” Factoque mane paratur quantocius vehi-

^a in *sscr. al. m.*

and prayed in this way: "O most gentle duke, most holy martyr, as your sanctity has already snatched many from the hands of the wicked by your intercession with great God, I beseech you, pitiful as I am, not to forget me in bondage, but to release me with your usual piety." God's mercy descended on him at once and the bonds immediately fell apart, cut through by the prayers of the blessed martyr as if with a sharp blade, and the man entered the temple of God giving thanks in return; when he had offered his prayers to God and the holy martyrs, he returned home as a free man.

And in the province of the Franks, there lived a man who was from his very childhood unable to walk on his feet; and, because of the nature of his deformity, he could not move upright, but wriggled on the ground like a reptile. One night, he was shaken in his sleep by a vision, since a man of wondrous beauty, dressed in white, was standing next to his bed; and he woke him up, still lame, and showed him his salvation, saying: "In whatever way you can, you poor man, rise and set forth to Prague, a city in Bohemia, even if you should give away all your belongings for the vehicle with which to reach it, and when you get there, enter the church of Saint Vitus the martyr, in which the body of Saint Wenceslas the martyr rests, and when you have offered your prayers there, you will beyond any doubt regain the wholeness of your step." When the man awoke from his sleep, he neglected the mandates, believing that the dream was just a delusion, and completely gave up the imposed journey. But the following night, as the poor man lay down for sleep, he again saw the same lord of great splendor standing next to his bed, who rebuked him in the following way, saying: "My dear poor man, wake up from your sleep and understand the true omen of this vision. Where from, you miserable man, do you take this negligence in healing your crippled body? Why did you cancel the journey to your own health, which I imposed upon you in my recent vision?" The lame man, waking up from the harshness of the reproach, cast away the doubts about what he had heard and, aware of the truth, answered: "I will start without any further delay, my pious and venerable lord!" And as it dawned, he arranged a vehicle as fast as he

culum ac data mercatoribus per eandem viam tendentibus placita mercede festino eorum ductu ad iam destinatum pervenit locum. Et iuxta priorem viri in somno apparentis monitionem sancti Viti martyris ecclesię, qua beatum corpus quiescit, gressuum orbitate invalidus, aliorum portacione infertur. Solo ante aram prostratus intime Deum sanctosque precatur. Non diutius morante virtutis divinę subsidio, sed per miranda beati Vencezlavi martyris merita pedum nervi prius contracti quasi fragore extenduntur, bases et plantę consolidantur. Surgit Dei gratia sanus relataque gratiarum actione sana et forti incessus restauratione, potenter sine alicuius sustentaculo egressus, patriam exultando ac Dei mirabilia latius predicando revisit.

could. Having given the tradesmen who were spread all along the way a satisfactory fee, he was quickly taken by them to the destined place; and according to the first admonition of the man who had appeared in his dream, he was carried by others—for he was crippled and unable to walk—into the church of Saint Vitus the martyr, where the blessed body was resting. Prostrating himself upon the floor in front of the altar, he prayed to God and the saints from the depths of his heart. And the help of the divine power was no longer delayed: for the admirable merits of blessed martyr Wenceslas, the nerves of his legs, which had been contracted at first, stretched out with something like a cracking sound, while his feet and soles acquired stability. He arose healthy, thanks to God, and, according to the testimonies about that grace, came out of the church sturdily, without anyone's support, marching with a step restored to health and vigor; and he went back to his homeland rejoicing and proclaiming the miracles of God everywhere.

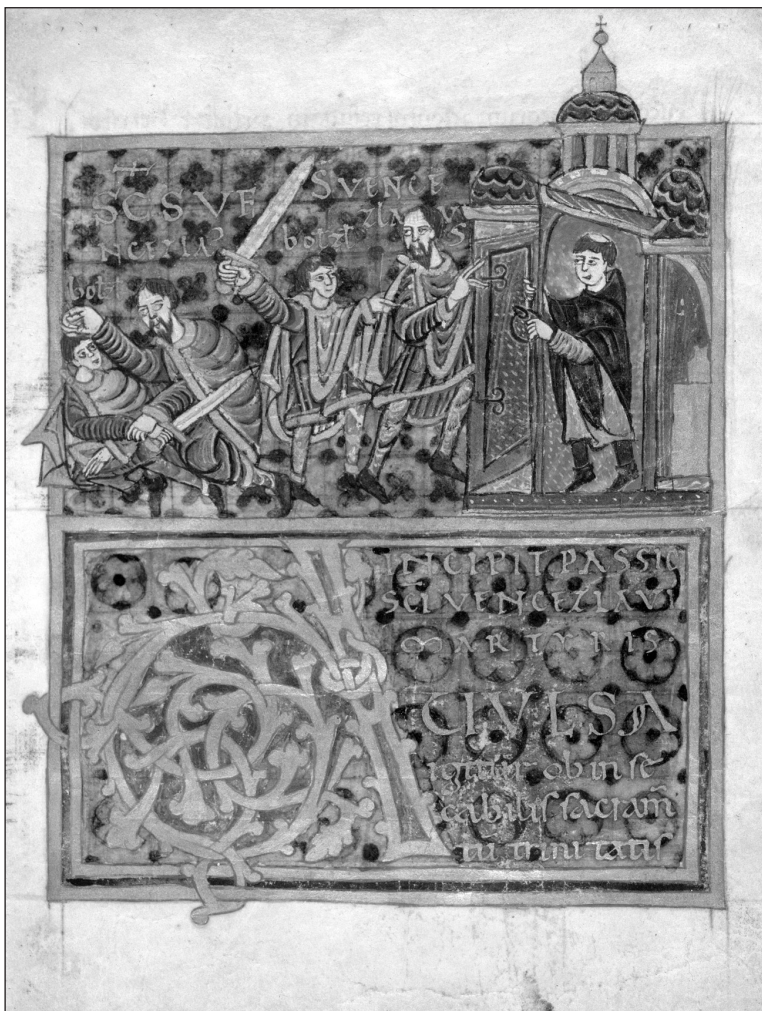


Fig. 2. *The murder of St. Wenceslas by his brother Boleslav.*
Illumination to the Passion of St. Wenceslas by Gumpold of Mantua.
Herzog August Bibliothek, Wolfenbüttel, Cod. Guelph 11.2 Aug. 4°, fol. 21v.

THE LIFE OF SAINT ADALBERT
BISHOP OF PRAGUE AND MARTYR



Fig. 3. *St. Adalbert of Prague, marble fountain, eleventh/twelfth century, S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, Rome (photo © Cristian Gaspar)*

PREFACE

CRISTIAN GAȘPAR

One of the things that today's visitors to the Roman church of San Bartolomeo all'Isola will notice almost immediately is a marble fountain incorporated somewhat incongruously in the steps leading up to the main altar (see Fig. 3). This impressive artifact, dating back to the eleventh or the twelfth century, preserves the memory and possibly one of the earliest iconographic representations of St. Adalbert, bishop of Prague, whose first Latin *Vita* is translated here.

Born ca. 956 in Central-Eastern Bohemia, in Libice (today Libice nad Cidlinou, in the Czech Republic), Vojtěch, as he was called by his Slavic name, was the son of a local potentate. A few years spent at the cathedral school in Magdeburg, in the Ottonian Empire, gave him a solid education and a new, Germanic name, Adalbert, by which he is commonly known today. In 983 Adalbert became the second bishop of Prague, but his episcopal career was somewhat of a failure. The years when he occupied his see (983–989 and 992–994) alternated with spells of wandering and settled monastic life in Italy (990–991 and 995–996), much to the dissatisfaction of both his abandoned parishioners and his ecclesiastic superiors. The patronage of Emperor Otto III, whom Adalbert first met in Rome in 996, eventually allowed the fugitive bishop to resist a final call to resume his pastoral duties and, with support from the Polish duke Bolesław Chrobry, embark instead upon an evangelizing mission among the pagan Prussians, at whose hands he would die a martyr's death on 23 April 997.¹

¹ The only recent overview of St. Adalbert's life in English is Ian Wood, *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (Harlow: Longman, 2001), 207–11. The most complete monograph is that of Gerard Labuda, *Święty Wojciech: biskup-męczennik, patron Polski, Czech i Węgier* [Saint Adalbert: The martyr bishop, patron of the Poles, the Czechs, and the Hungarians], 2nd ed. (Wrocław:

Imperial interest in and patronage of Adalbert's cult throughout the Ottonian empire would have probably turned him into a *Reichsheilige* of sorts, but the premature death of Emperor Otto III dampened the initial enthusiasm, and Adalbert's veneration in the Empire eventually lost its significance. Adalbert's memory was, however, kept alive in Central-Eastern Europe, where the presence of his relics, disputed even today between two cult centers, Gniezno and Prague, as well as the interest of (sometimes competing) ruling dynasties in medieval Bohemia, Poland and Hungary in claiming him as a national patron turned Adalbert into a very important and to this day very popular saint. Several hagiographic texts produced in this area (for which, see the hagiographic inventory below, p. 383), a significant presence in the liturgical and homiletic material, an impressive number of *patrocinia* in Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and Hungary, and the popularity of modern names derived from his (Czech *Vojtěch*, Polish *Wojciech*, Hungarian *Béla*), all testify to Adalbert's posthumous fortune in Central-Eastern Europe.

This fortune took a spectacular turn in the years around 1997, in various celebrations connected with the millenary of his death. In that context Adalbert was promoted, both in popular and in scholarly discourse, not so much as a national patron, but

Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2004). On Adalbert's cult and its ideological background, see Roman Michałowski, *Zjazd gnieźnieński: religijne przesłanki powstania arcybiskupstwa gnieźnieńskiego* [The Gniezno meeting: The religious conditions of the establishment of the archbishopric of Gniezno] (Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego, 2005). Also see *Adalbert von Prag – Brückenbauer zwischen dem Osten und Westen Europas*, ed. Hans Hermann Henrix (Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, 1997), especially Gerard Labuda, "Ein europäisches Itinerar seiner Zeit: Die Lebensstationen Adalberts" (*ibid.*, 59–75); *Tropami Świętego Wojciecha* [The life of St. Adalbert], ed. Zofia Kurnatowska (Poznań: Wydawnictwo Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk, 1999); *Święty Wojciech w polskiej tradycji historiograficznej: antologia tekstów* [St. Adalbert in the Polish historiographic tradition: An anthology of texts], ed. Gerard Labuda (Warsaw: Pax, 1997); Aleksandra Witkowska and Joanna Nastalska, *Święty Wojciech: życie i kult: bibliografia do roku 1999* [Saint Adalbert: his life and cult: A bibliography up to 1999] (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2002); *Svätý Vojtech – svätec, doba a kult* [St. Adalbert: The saint, his age and his cult], ed. Jaroslav Nemeš et al. (Bratislava: Vydavateľstvo Chronos, 2011).

as a “bridge builder between Eastern and Western Europe,” or the “patron saint of Central-Eastern Europe,” a suitable saintly figure to preside over various processes of European integration. There is, perhaps, no better symbol of this evolution than the modern icon of Adalbert which stands today in front of his altar in the same Roman church of San Bartolomeo all’Isola (see Fig. 4). Painted in an Eastern, post-Byzantine style, this icon bears an inscription in Old Church Slavonic identifying the saint by his Slavic name (Vojtěch) and came to Rome, to one of the first churches dedicated to Adalbert, as a present from the city of Gniezno, the first resting place of his relics, to Pope John Paul II.

The first hagiographic text dedicated to St. Adalbert was written most probably in 999 in Rome, at the request of Emperor Otto III, drawing on information provided by Gaudentius-Radim (d. ca. 1006), Adalbert’s younger brother and longtime companion. This first *Life of St. Adalbert* (known as the *Vita prior*)¹ has not reached us in its original version. The accurate and wide-ranging research into the manuscript tradition of this text by Jadwiga Karwasińska,² who produced the only modern critical edition worthy of that name,³ has shown quite clearly that soon after the elaboration of the initial version of the *Life* in Rome—this, now lost, Roman or “first Aventine” version, she labeled *X*—this origi-

¹ BHL 37, 37a, 37b, also known as *Vita I*, *Vita antiquior*, *Vita auct. Iohanne Canapario*. See Witkowska and Nastalska, *Święty Wojciech*, 38–40 and Teresa Dunin-Źawowicz, “Hagiographie polonaise entre XI^e et XVI^e siècle,” in *Hagiographies*, ed. Guy Philippart, vol. 3 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 184. Two editions of the Latin text accompanied by German translations have been published since (see below, p. 88, n. 2 and p. 89, n. 1).

² Her studies on the manuscript tradition are collected (with French summaries) in the volume Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Wybór pism. Święty Wojciech* [Selected studies: St. Adalbert], ed. Teresa Dunin-Źawowicz (Warsaw: Towarzystwo Naukowe Warszawskie, 1996). It is to this volume that I will refer in what follows.

³ *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot pierwszy: S. Adalberti, Pragensis episcopi et martyris, vita prior*, ed. with an introduction and notes by Jadwiga Karwasińska, MPH n.s. 4.1 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962). This will be referred to as “the critical edition.” Karwasińska’s edition has been reprinted, without the critical apparatus, but with a facsimile edition of ms. *Ls* of the *Vita prior*, plus a Polish translation by K. Abgarowicz, as Jan Kanapariusz, *Świętego Wojciecha żywot pierwszy* (Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo słowo/obraz terytoria, 2009).

nal text was reworked on at least three different instances by three different authors, in three different intellectual environments, and with different motivations.¹ All three versions (labeled by Jadwiga Karwasińska *A*, *B*, and *C*) were in circulation by the end of the eleventh century, as suggested by the fact that all three versions are represented among the earliest extant manuscripts of the *Life*, all dating to the last quarter of the eleventh century or a little after that.

A first version of the text (Karwasińska's *A* or "the Imperial/Ottonian version"),² was commissioned, according to G. H. Pertz, its editor in the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* series, and followed by Karwasińska,³ by Emperor Otto III or someone from his close entourage, as the unreserved praise which accompanies almost every mention of the emperor's name in the text suggests.⁴ This version of the *Life* comes probably the closest to, although it is certainly not identical with the lost original produced ca. 999 by a Benedictine monk named Iohannes Canaparius⁵ (variously

¹ Jadwiga Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego III: Redakcje Vita I" [Critical studies on the *Lives* of St. Adalbert, the bishop of Prague III: The versions of the *Vita* I], in *Wybór pism*, 127–53, originally published in 1959 and available in an abbreviated French version "Les trois rédactions de 'Vita I' de S. Adalbert," *ibid.*, 215–37 (first printed in 1960).

² *Redactio imperialis uel Ottoniana*, ed. by Karwasińska in her critical edition, 3–47.

³ *Vita antiquior auct. Iohanne Canapario*, ed. G. H. Pertz in MGH SS 4 (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1982; originally published Hanover, 1841), 575. This attribution was accepted by Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne III: Redakcje Vita I," 143.

⁴ Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne III: Redakcje Vita I," 139–40. Otto's involvement in commissioning a hagiographic account of St. Adalbert following a partial *translatio* of the saint's relics from Poland and the foundation of a church to house them in Rome, on the Tiber Island (It. *Isola Tiberina*), *inter duos pontes*, is attested in the contemporary *Translatio reliquiarum SS. Abundii et Abundantii* [BHL 18], where it is said that Otto *necnon ortum eius, actus et passionem mira arte composuit et in libello scribere fecit* "and he also had [the saint's] origin, deeds, and his passion recounted with admirable skill and written in a book" (Latin text quoted by Pertz, MGH SS 4, 575–6, n. 21). This church, built in 998, was originally dedicated to St. Adalbert, but later rededicated to St. Bartholomew, and is today known as San Bartolomeo all'Isola.

⁵ On Canaparius, see Carlo Albarello, "Giovanni Canapario (Campanario)," in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 55 (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 2001), 742, and Benedetta Valtorta, ed., *Clavis scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi: Auctores Italiae (700-1000)* (Florence: Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2006), 142–5.

called Giovanni di Can(n)apara or Giovanni Canapario) in Rome, at the abbey of SS. Boniface and Alexius on the Aventine Hill,¹ a monastic community founded in 977, where Adalbert had lived for a few years as a monk.² After 25 March 997, Canaparius was elected abbot of this monastery and occupied this function until his death on 12 October 1004, so the elaboration of *A* would fall during his time as an abbot. It is possible, although beyond definite proof, that this version of the *Life* may have served as a basis for some sort of official endorsement of the cult³ of St. Adalbert by

¹ See Bernard Hamilton, "The Monastery of S. Alessio and the Religious and Intellectual Renaissance in Tenth-century Rome," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 2 (1965): 265–310, repr. in idem, *Monastic Reform, Catharism and the Crusades, 900–1300* (London: Variorum, 1979) and *contra* Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Le Monastère des Saints Boniface et Alexis sur l'Aventin et l'expansion du christianisme dans le cadre de la 'Renovatio imperii Romanorum,'" *Revue Bénédictine* 100 (1990): 493–506; Oliva Muratore and Maria Richiello, eds., *La storia e il restauro del complesso conventuale dei Santi Bonifacio e Alessio all'Aventino* (Rome and Naples: Elio de Rosa, 2004), esp. 36–47.

² Canaparius's authorship was (and still is) accepted by a vast majority of scholars (see, however, p. 89, n. 2 below); in addition to the literature quoted above, p. 79, n. 1 and p. 81, n. 1, see Walter Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil im lateinischen Mittelalter*, vol. 4.1, *Ottonische Biographie: Das hohe Mittelalter 920–1220 n. Chr.* (Stuttgart: A. Hiersemann, 1999), 161; Franz Brunhölzl, *Histoire de la littérature latine du Moyen Âge*, vol. 2 (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 335–6 and 571, and Jana Nechutová, *Die lateinische Literatur des Mittelalters in Böhmen* (Köln: Böhlau, 2007), 59. For a discussion of earlier scholarship and attempts to ascribe the *Life* to other authors, see Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego I: Stan badań" [Critical studies on the *Lives* of St. Adalbert I: The *status quaestionis*], in *Wybór pism*, 87–95, and Helena Chłopocka, "Sprawa autorstwa," in Kanapariusz, *Świętego Wojciecha*, 182–6. A recent overview eschews the question by noting the dissenting opinions, but treating Canaparius as the author of the *versione aventinese* of the *Life*, without specifying, however, which of the two Aventine versions is meant. See Pierluigi Licciardello, "Agiografia latina dell'Italia centrale, 950–1130," in *Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, ed. Guy Philippart, vol. 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 447–729, here 587.

³ The use of his text for an otherwise unattested "papal canonization" of Adalbert was tentatively suggested by Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne III: Redakcje Vita I," 143; eadem, "Wojciech – Adalbert," in *Hagiografia polska: Słownik bio-bibliograficzny*, ed. Romuald Gustaw, vol. 2 (Poznań: Księgarnia św. Wojciecha, 1972), 584–5. See also Gerard Labuda, "W sprawie autorstwa i miejsca napisania 'Żywotu pierwszego'

1000.¹ This version of Canaparius's *vita* very soon found its way outside Italy, across the Alps, into the German-speaking areas of the Empire, where it was extensively copied²; many of the surviving manuscripts are associated with places where the cult of St. Adalbert developed quite soon after his martyrdom with significant imperial support.³

According to Jadwiga Karwasińska, a second version of the *Life* (*B* or “the second Aventine/Roman version”)⁴ was also produced in Rome, possibly by someone working at the same abbey of SS. Boniface and Alexius where the original was located, quite probably after the death of Otto III (23 January 1002). This version

Świętego Wojciecha” [Concerning the authorship and the origin of the *Vita prior* of St. Adalbert], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 42 (2004): 115–30 at 127, who speaks of a “first official version presented at the council that dealt with the canonization of St. Adalbert”; idem, “Kanonizacja świętego Wojciecha” [The Canonization of St. Adalbert], *Kwartalnik Historyczny* 112.3 (2005): 33–40, and *Kanonizacja św. Wojciecha i dziedzictwo jego kultu* [The canonization of St. Adalbert and the legacy of his cult], ed. Jerzy Strzelczyk et al. (Lublin: Instytut Europy Środkowo-Wschodniej, 2001), esp. 30–1 and 52–3. Others have been more skeptical; see Paolo Golinnelli, “Sant’Adalberto di Praga tra agiografia e storia,” in idem, ed., *Il millenario di Sant’Adalberto a Verona: Atti del Convegno di Studi della Biblioteca Capitolare e delle Celebrazioni cittadine (Verona 11-12 aprile 1997)* (Bologna: Patron Editore, 2000), 27–42, at 41; Petr Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů* [Seven Přemyslid cults] (Prague: Katolická teologická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2011), 161–93 at 168–9.

¹ Gaudentius-Radim is mentioned as *archiepiscopus Sancti Adelberti martyris* in a document issued by Otto III in Rome on 2 December 999; MGH DD O III 2.2, ed. Th. Sickel, no. 339, 767–9, at 769. This, however, cannot be regarded as proof of a formal (papal) canonization.

² The earliest surviving manuscripts of this version are the eleventh-century *Ls* (originally from the monastery of St. Adrian in Lamspringe, now kept in Wolfenbüttel), the twelfth-century *Ll* (formerly in the library of the monastery of St. Lawrence in Liège, now kept in Brussels), and the *Aq*, dated to around 1200 (originally at the Collegiate Church—Marienstift—in Aachen).

³ Elżbieta Dąbrowska, “Pierwotne miejsce pochowania i recepcja relikwii św. Wojciecha we wczesnym średniowieczu” [The original burial place and the distribution of St. Adalbert’s relics in the early middle ages], in Kurnatowska, ed., *Tropami*, 147–58, Teresa Dunin-Wąsowicz, “Die neuen Heiligenkulte in Mitteleuropa um das Jahr 1000,” in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, vol. 2, *Beiträge zur Geschichte, Kunst und Archäologie*, ed. Alfried Wiczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart: Theiss, 2000), 834–8, and Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů*, 173–93.

⁴ *Redactio Aventinensis altera*, edited by Karwasińska in her critical edition, 51–67.

may have been commissioned, although not authored by Pope Sylvester II, i.e., Gerbert d'Aurillac, Otto III's former tutor, and produced before the pope's death (12 May 1003).¹

In fact, version B of Canaparius's *Life of Adalbert* is the earliest to be attested in the manuscript tradition. A very early manuscript containing the "second Aventine" redaction, a legendary datable to 1060–1070 and copied in the scriptorium of the Roman monastery of Santa Cecilia in Trastevere, has resurfaced recently after disappearing without trace in the early seventeenth century.² The inclusion of Adalbert in the great legendary of St. Cecilia—he is the only recent saint present in this hagiographic compilation³—is highly indicative of both the spread of his cult in Rome, initially with strong imperial support, and of the early availability in the City of manuscripts which contained a version of the Canaparian *Vita* other than the "Ottonian version."

A manuscript of the "second Aventine" version may have been available to Bruno of Querfurt (b. ca. 970–d. 14 February 1009), who wrote his own *Life* of St. Adalbert (known as the *Vita altera*) in a first version in 1004. He then revised this to produce

¹ For the dating to 1002–1003, see Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne III: Redakcje Vita I," 149–52. She assumes that at least two different copies of this version existed, one now represented primarily by an early twelfth-century manuscript (*Ad₁*) kept in Admont (Austria) and another one, from the eleventh century, associated with the Roman monastery of Santa Cecilia, lost since the seventeenth century, and known until recently just from its three copies (*Cc₁*, *Cc₂*, *Cc₃*).

² Two volumes of the long lost legendary of St. Cecilia (for which I will use the siglum *Cc*) are kept in Cape Town's National Library as MS 48 b4 and b5 of the Grey Collection; see Carol Steyn, *The Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Grey Collection of the National Library of South Africa, Cape Town*, vol. 2 (Salzburg: Universität Salzburg; Institut für Anglistik und Amerikanistik, 2002), 196–202. Canaparius's *Life of Adalbert* is in vol. 1 (MS 48.b.4), fol. 87v–93r. The manuscript was dated to 1060–1070 on paleographical grounds and attributed to a scribe known to have worked in the scriptorium of the monastery in that period by Carmella Vircillo Franklin, "Roman Hagiography and Roman Legendaries," in *Roma nell'Alto Medioevo, Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'Alto Medioevo* 48, vol. 2 (Spoleto: CISAM, 2001), 857–91, at 866, n. 26.

³ Vircillo Franklin, *ibid.*, 881, n. 75.

a second version of his own *Vita Adalberti* in 1008, when he was already in Poland in search of martyrdom.¹

Finally, a third version of the *Life* (Karwasińska's *C* or "the version of Monte Cassino")² was certainly based on a copy of *B* similar to that preserved in the St. Cecilia legendary, which an unknown author heavily reworked at a date that is difficult to establish, but possibly as early as the first half of the eleventh century,³ in order to eliminate or mitigate those passages of the original which presented the monastic community of Monte Cassino and Adalbert's relationship with it in less than a favorable light.⁴ This version, which explicitly claims the authorship of Pope Sylvester II, adds in the last chapter supplementary material concerning the details of Adalbert's martyrdom unknown to the author(s) of *A* and *B*, but present in an anonymous narrative of his death known as the *Passio of Tegernsee* (possibly written sometime between 1017

¹ Wood, *Missionary Life*, 226–44; Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe Between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008), 67–84; Marian Dygo and Wojciech Falkowski, eds., *Brunon z Kwerfurtu: Osoba, dzieło, epoka* [Bruno of Querfurt: His personality, his œuvre, his age] (Pulask: Akademia Humanistyczna, 2010); Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Brunon z Kwerfurtu w Polsce i krajach sąsiednich w tysiąclecie śmierci 1009-2009* [Bruno of Querfurt in Poland and the neighboring countries: On the millenium of his death 1009-2009] (Pulask: Akademia Humanistyczna, 2009). Bruno's *Life of Adalbert* [BHL 38–39] was also edited by Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot drugi napisany przez Brunona z Kwerfurtu: S. Adalberti Pragensis, episcopi et martyris, vita altera*, MPH n.s. 4.2 (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969).

² *Redactio Cassinensis*, ed. by Karwasińska in her critical edition, 71–84.

³ The earliest extant manuscripts of this group (*Cs*₁ and *Cs*₂, both kept in the library of Monte Cassino) are securely dated to 1087.

⁴ For a detailed discussion of these changes, see Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne III: Redakcje Vita I," 131–2. Given the extent and the nature of the revisions operated at Monte Cassino in order to eliminate or tone down the embarrassing passages of the original, I find it unlikely that the author of the first *Life of Adalbert* could have been a monk associated with that community as suggested by Golinelli, "Sant'Adalberto," 39–40, and in his study "Da San Nilo a San Romualdo: Percorsi spirituali tra Oriente e Occidente e tra Nord e Sud intorno al Mille," in *San Romualdo: Storia, agiografia e spiritualità, Atti del XXIII Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti Fonte Avellana 23–26 Agosto 2000* (San Pietro in Cariano: Gabrielli Editori, 2002), 78–9.

and 1038).¹ Just like the *Passio of Tegernsee*, the last chapter of *C* also details the first phase of the cult of St. Adalbert (the construction of a church to house his body and severed head), although with less concrete detail than the *Passio*, which records the saint's burial in a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin in Gniezno.

In addition to all this, there are good reasons to suspect that another copy of the original *Life* was brought to Gniezno as early as the year 1000 during the visit-cum-pilgrimage of Emperor Otto III to the place where the newly acquired relics of St. Adalbert were being kept.² This fourth version is now lost, but it presumably existed in 1039, when the Czech troops raided Gniezno and took the relics of St. Adalbert and probably a copy of his *Life* back to Prague. There it was read by the Czech historian Cosmas, dean of the cathedral in Prague (1045–1125), as quotations of it in his *Chronicle of the Bohemians* (written between 1119 and 1125) suggest.³ Moreover, it was probably either in Gniezno or elsewhere in Poland that another historian, the anonymous author of the *Gesta principum Polonorum* (written ca. 1115) known as Gallus Anonymus,⁴ read a *liber de passione martyris* which

¹ For the *Passio of Tegernsee* [BHL 40], see the critical edition and commentary by Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, “Pasje świętych Wojciecha i Brunona z tzw. kodeksu z Tegernsee” [The Martyrdoms of SS. Adalbert and Bruno in the so-called codex of Tegernsee], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 40 (2002): 19–41.

² As proposed by Labuda, “W sprawie autorstwa,” 119 and 129–30, who calls this hypothetical version *G* and derives it directly from the lost archetype (*X*) of the *Vita prior* (see his simplified *stemma codicum* *ibid.*, 130).

³ Cosmas of Prague, *Chron.* 1.30 (ed. B. Bretholz, MGH SRG n.s. 2, 54–55) quoting ch. 22 of the *Vita prior* and sending his readers to a *uitam ... seu passionem* of St. Adalbert, obviously available to him in Prague; see Cosmas of Prague, *The Chronicle of the Czechs*, tr. Lisa Wolverton (Washington, D.C.: The Catholic University of America Press, 2009), 81–2. On the Czech raid on Gniezno and Poznań in 1039, see Cosmas, *Chron.* 2.2–3, 5 (ed. Bretholz, 83) and the *Gesta principum Polonorum* 1.19 (with n. 28 below).

⁴ *Gesta principum Polonorum* / *The Deeds of the Princes of the Poles*, trans. and ann. by Paul W. Knoll and Frank Schaer (Budapest and New York: Central European University Press, 2003), “Introduction,” xxiv–xxxiii; Gerard Labuda, “Zamiana Galla-Anonima, autora pierwszej ‘Kroniki dziejów Polski,’ na Anonima-Wenecjanina” [The change of Gallus Anonymus, the author of the first Polish chronicle, to Venetus Anonymus], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 44 (2006): 117–25.

may or may not be identical with the text discussed and translated here.¹

This wealth of direct and indirect evidence makes any decision as to which of the three surviving versions of the *Life* should be considered as coming closest to the lost original extremely difficult. All three surviving versions seem to have preserved material that goes back to the lost original. In any case, all attempts to reconstruct an “original” text (other than by limited conjecture concerning individual passages and strictly on the basis of variant readings attested in the surviving manuscripts), and especially to identify a single privileged manuscript or a group of manuscripts as “the earliest” and “the most faithful” to the lost original simply on the basis of their date or geographic location are methodologically untenable and unlikely to contribute valuable solutions to the debates concerning St. Adalbert.

Two such attempts have been made recently. In a highly polemical study aimed against G. H. Pertz and his “pernicious influence” on subsequent scholarship, Johannes Fried² denied the validity of the conclusions of Jadwiga Karwasińska’s research on the manuscript tradition of the *Vita prior*, to which the German scholar apparently did not have access in the original language but in French or Latin summaries. On the basis of the existence of a manuscript associated with Aachen (*Aq*) and dated to ca. 1200, a brief mention of

¹ *Gesta princ. Pol.* 1.6: “the story can be read at greater length in the book of his martyrdom” (*in liber de passione martiris*); trans. Knoll-Schaer, 35. The most likely hypothesis would identify this text with the *Passio of Tegernsee*, which also inspired at least to some extent the iconography of the Romanesque bronze doors of the Cathedral in Gniezno, produced ca. 1175. See Labuda, “W sprawie autorstwa,” 123, and idem, “Reminiscencje Pasji św. Wojciecha z Tegernsee (około 1025) w scenach jego żywotu na Drzwiach Gnieźnieńskich (około 1180)” [Reminiscences from the *Passio of Tegernsee of St. Adalbert* (ca. 1025) in the scenes of his life on the Gniezno Doors (ca. 1180)] in *Homines et societas: czasy Piastów i Jagiellonów: studia historyczne ofiarowane Antoniemu Gąsiorowskiemu w sześćdziesiątą piątą rocznicę urodzin* [The times of the Piasts and the Jagiellos, historical studies offered to A. Gąsiorowski on his sixty-fifth anniversary], ed. Tomasz Jasiński et al. (Poznań: Wydawnictwo PTPN, 1997), 53–63.

² Johannes Fried, “Gnesen – Achen – Rom. Otto III. und der Kult des hl. Adalbert. Beobachtungen zum älteren Adalbertsleben,” in *Polen und Deutschland vor 1000 Jahren. Die Berliner Tagung über den “Akt von Gnesen,”* ed. Michael Borgolte (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2002), 235–72, esp. 245–54.

Notger of Liège in the *Life of Adalbert*, and a series of hypothetical arguments, Fried denied the existence of the lost original (*X*) from which the Polish scholar had derived all the surviving versions and also rejected the Roman origin and Canaparian authorship of the *Life of Adalbert*, convincingly advocated by Pertz and Karwasińska. Instead, Fried claimed that the manuscript tradition (i.e., the existence of the Aachen manuscript) “proves” that the first version of the *Life* was composed in a Western milieu (the diocese of Liège) and identified Notger of Liège (or someone in his close entourage) as its author. Consequently, according to Fried, all the other versions of the *Life* (i.e., *B* and *C*) derive from one single source (*A*), of which the manuscript now kept in Aachen was a close and privileged representative. In my view (and in light of the textual and other evidence provided by the surviving versions of the *Life*) this is highly improbable, especially after the recent rediscovery of the earliest datable manuscript of the *Life*, the St. Cecilia legendary in Rome.

Based on Fried’s hypotheses, but in a considerably less polemical vein, Jürgen Hoffmann in 2005 produced a new “critical edition” of the *Life of Adalbert*.¹ This is based exclusively on one

¹ Jürgen Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag* (Essen: Klartext, 2005). Hoffmann reported the “(re)discovery” of the Aachen manuscript (*Aq*) in his study “*Vita Adalberti Aquensis*,” *Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters* 57 (2001): 157–61, thus enabling Fried to draw far-reaching conclusions as to the origin and authorship of the first version of the *Vita prior*. Karwasińska had studied *Aq* already in 1967 and wrote a detailed study on the place of this manuscript in the textual tradition (see her “*Studia krytyczne nad żywotami św. Wojciecha, biskupa praskiego VI: Przekaz akwizgrański*” [Critical studies... VI: The Aachen manuscript], in *Wybór pism*, 207–13, originally published in 1973). She concluded that the new manuscript (*Aq*) did not bring any significant change to the history of the text as established by her previous research. See also the skeptical review of Hoffmann’s edition by Jerzy Strzelczyk in *Zeitschrift für Ostmitteleuropa-Forschung* 55 (2006): 116–7. Also in 2005 appeared another edition of the *Life of Adalbert* due to a German scholar; see *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slawischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg: Vitae sanctorum episcoporum Adalberti Pragensis et Ottonis Babenbergensis historiam Germanicam et Slavicam illustrantes*, ed. Lorenz Weinrich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 27–69. Weinrich adopts Hoffmann’s Latin text, but emends it freely (and without due warning to the reader) with textual variants taken from ms. *Ls* (the basis of Karwasińska’s edition). Interested scholars will still be better served by Karwasińska’s 1962 critical edition.

group of manuscripts (five witnesses as opposed to Karwasińska's thirty-seven) and gives pride of place to the manuscript now kept in Aachen (*Aq*, dated to about 1200), in spite of its numerous misreadings and inferior textual variants. Hoffmann's edition, by its drastic reduction of the manuscript basis, now limited to a group of demonstrably defective witnesses (see below, p. 175, n. 4), adopts a distorting view of the evolution of the *Life of Adalbert*. In my opinion, this represents, just like Fried's hypotheses concerning the authorship of the text, a significant step backwards when compared to Karwasińska's sound philological work.¹

The limitations imposed by the complex textual tradition of the *Life of Adalbert* were fully recognized by Jadwiga Karwasińska, who resorted to the only appropriate editorial solution in such circumstances and published in one volume critical editions of *all* the three surviving versions of the *Life*, after having conducted a thorough research of the entire manuscript tradition. Her edition is based on twenty-nine manuscripts that contain the *Life* in full and eight which give abbreviated or fragmentary versions.²

The present translation is based mainly on Karwasińska's critical edition of the Ottonian version (*A*). To this I have added, in a limited number of passages and always indicating such additions in the apparatus and in the notes, readings only preserved in the other two surviving versions (*B* and *C*) which, in my opinion, are very likely to have been part of the original text composed by Iohannes Canaparius in Rome ca. 999. This course of action was suggested by my own research on the wealth of classical and patristic quotations

¹ For very sharp criticism of Fried's thesis, see Labuda, "W sprawie autorstwa," esp. 117 with n. 8 (Fried's knowledge of Karwasińska's extensive work on the manuscript tradition is very limited and one-sided as he does not read Polish), 121 (his hypotheses are qualified as "a mirage," "pure fantasy"), 122 (their author is "uninformed"), and 129 (his treatment of the sources is "speculative" and plagued by "methodological deficiencies").

² For the manuscripts of the *Vita prior*, see Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne... II: Podstawa rękopiśmienna" [Critical studies... II: The manuscript basis], in *Wybór pism*, 96–123 (originally published in 1958), and the introduction to her 1962 critical edition, viii–xxix. A further manuscript of the *Life* was identified by Paul Devos, "Bulletin des publications hagiographiques," *Annalecta Bollandiana* 82 (1964): 456–9.

present in the *Life*, an aspect that until now has been treated inadequately or simply ignored by modern editors and scholars of the text alike.¹ The detailed inventory of these quotations given in the footnotes which accompany the present translation is meant to offer a comprehensive and accurate view of the intellectual background and the solid education of the author of the first *Life of St. Adalbert*. The numerous examples of formulae quoted verbatim or creatively adapted from the works of classical Latin authors, and especially the poetic tags which he so evidently favors, suggest that our author had received a solid classical training before taking on the monastic habit. At the same time, his familiarity with the works of Gregory the Great and especially John Cassian, as well as his constant reference to the *Rule* of St. Benedict, all point towards a man who was deeply conversant with staple authors of the monastic tradition. All these indications reinforce the hypothesis that the original version of the *Life of Adalbert*, best represented, perhaps, by its earliest surviving Ottonian version, originated in a monastic milieu and was the work of Iohannes Canaparius.² An almost contemporary source referred to him, in fact, as “illustrious on account of his noble descent and of plentiful means,” and as a man who “renounced the things of this world and took up the monastic habit.”³

This combination of a solid secular education and a strong commitment to monastic values offers a perfect explanation both for the outstanding linguistic and literary quality of the first *Life of St. Adalbert* and for its ideological *parti pris*, i.e., the strong

¹ The only modern edition that identified such quotations is Karwasińska's, where the rather limited indications of this kind are due to Kazimierz Abgarowicz (see Karwasińska's introduction to her critical edition, xlviii). These were simply taken over in the recent editions by Hoffmann and Weinrich (mentioned above, p. 89, n. 1).

² For a first discussion of such quotes, see my recent study “(Re)claiming Adalbert: Patristic Quotations and Their Function in Canaparius' *Vita S. Adalberti*,” in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period. Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser et al. (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2011), 31–9.

³ *Miracula S. Alexii* 1: *nobilitate carnis praepollens et diuitiis affluens, qui monachicum habitum, abrenuntians quae saeculi sunt, suscepit* (MGH SS 4, ed. Pertz, 619).

monastic bent of the text.¹ The main hero of the *Life* is consistently construed as a thoroughly accomplished monk, whose problematic (not to say failed) episcopal career is nothing but a major inconvenience to his earnest attempts to lead an authentic contemplative life.² Such a perspective, with its persistent emphasis on the hero's *horror episcopatus*, also explains why in the *Vita prior* bishops are very often cast as the main villains in the narrative of Adalbert's life and times. This is obvious in the case of characters such as Dětmar (*sed.* 973–981), Adalbert's predecessor on the episcopal see of Prague, or Willigis, the archbishop of Mainz (*sed.* 975–1011), Adalbert's nemesis, whose dogged efforts to bring the reluctant bishop back to his flock (with papal support) are decried at length by the author of the *Life*. Last, but not least, the Canaparian authorship of the *Life*, if genuine, would explain very well the wealth of concrete and often picturesque detail offered concerning Adalbert's stay in Italy and especially at the Abbey of SS. Boniface and Alexius in Rome, as well as the prominent place this monastic community plays in the economy of the narrative as the safe haven towards which Adalbert constantly gravitates in spite and at the expense of his episcopal duties. Such prominence, which often turns into self-advertisement, is entirely understandable in a text authored by Iohannes Canaparius, the abbot of the monastery on the Aventine Hill, and becomes highly unlikely, if not altogether impossible, if Notger, the bishop of Liège (*sed.* 971–1008), or someone in his entourage were credited with the authorship of the *Life*.

The present translation of the *Life of St. Adalbert* as well as the Latin text on which it is based are informed by three guiding

¹ The persistent ascetic overtones of the *Life* ("ascetic moralizing tendencies") were briefly noted by Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne III," 139, who remarked that they are better represented in *A* (i. e., in the version closest to Canaparius's original) than in *B* and *C*. See also Golinelli, "Sant'Adalberto," 30–2, and Licciardello, "Agiografia," 589–90.

² See Pius Engelbert, "Adalbert von Prag zwischen Bischofsideal, Politik und Mönchtum," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und Kirchengeschichte* 92.1–2 (1997): 18–44. For the ideological tendencies that inform Canaparius's *Life* in comparison with the hagiography produced by Bruno of Querfurt, see Friedrich Lotter, "Das Bild des hl. Adalbert in der römischen und der sächsischen Vita," in Henrix, ed., *Adalbert von Prag*, 77–107.

principles. It accepts—at least until better proof to the contrary is offered—the traditional hypothesis concerning the authorship of the *Vita prior* as firmly established. It also rests on the Latin text of the critical edition established by Jadwiga Karwasińska, the only one that shows full awareness of the complex nature of the manuscript tradition of the text and emphasizes the need to keep in mind not just one, but all the three versions of the *Vita prior*, which may preserve invaluable material from the lost Canaparian original (*X*). Finally, the English rendering proposed here attempts to convey—to the extent that this is possible—the high linguistic and literary quality of the Latin original as well as its remarkable rhetorical elaboration.¹ In so doing I have been guided by the results of my own research into this issue, which has revealed a text that is literally swarming with quotations and allusions to classical and patristic authors, a perfect illustration of the use of *spolia* so much favored in many of the texts of the Ottonian period, which rely with gusto on *bricolage* and on what Walter Berschin calls Ottonian *Schmuckstil*.² No attempt has been made, however, to reproduce in English the occasional use of rhymed prose which characterizes the Latin original.³

¹ Surveyed and discussed in the only contribution—as far as I could ascertain—dealing in any detail with the language and the style of the text; see the introduction to Karwasińska's critical edition, xxxiv-xxxvii. Unfortunately, many of the linguistic and stylistic features (especially the metaphors) discussed in this section, written by K. Abgarowicz, and ascribed to Canaparius, in fact belong to the classical and patristic authors he read and quoted.

² Berschin, *Biographie und Epochenstil*, vol. 4.1, 157; see also *ibid.*, 127, where this author speaks of the *Zitat-Spolien* as a distinguishing characteristic of the (hagiographic) style of Ottonian times. Berschin's is one of the very few works which discusses the *Vita prior* as a piece of literature rather than a historical source; see *ibid.*, 161–8. See also Licciardello, "Agiografia," 591–2.

³ Anne-Marie Turcan-Verkerk, "Forme et réforme: Le grégorianisme du Moyen Âge latin, essai d'interprétation du phénomène de la prose rimée aux XI^e et XII^e siècles," PhD Diss., Paris: Université Paris IV-Sorbonne, 1995, vol. 2, 3 (on Canaparius's *Life of Adalbert*). Such sporadic use of rhymed prose is consistent with an Italian provenance of the *Life*; rhymed prose was not a common occurrence in works of Italian authors at the end of the tenth century. This stands in stark contrast with the extensive and regular use of rhymed prose by contemporary authors writing in the diocese of Liège, "the cradle of rhymed prose" (Turcan-Verkerk, *ibid.*, vol. 1, 81–2).

In preparing this first English translation of the *Life of St. Adalbert* and the notes that accompany it, I have systematically consulted the Polish translation of Kazimierz Abgarowicz¹ and the Czech by Jana Zachová,² most of the time with great profit. A more recent Polish translation by Brigida Kürbis³ is often unreliable. The German translations printed in the editions by Hoffmann and Weinrich⁴ are based on significantly different Latin texts than the one followed here and have been consulted only occasionally.

The apparatus of the Latin text offers all the variant readings I have adopted in the main text with their alternatives in the rest of the manuscript tradition. Additionally, the notes to the translation provide an extensive inventory of the literal quotations and allusions to classical and patristic authors as well as the biblical references which can be identified in Canaparius's text. The *sigla* of the manuscripts used are those in Karwasińska's critical edition, with the addition of *Aq* for the Aachen manuscript and *Cc* for the St. Cecilia legendary.

¹ Jan Kanapariusz, "Świętego Wojciecha żywot pierwszy" [The first *Life of Adalbert*], in *Piśmiennictwo czasów Bolesława Chrobrego* [The literature of Bolesław the Brave's times], ed. Aleksander Gieysztor et al. (Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966), 23–86.

² Canapariova "Vojtěšská legenda Est locus" [Canaparius's Life of St. Adalbert *Est locus*], in *Slavnickovci ve středověkém písemnictví* [The Slavniks in medieval literature], ed. Rostislav Nový et al. (Prague: Vyšehrad, 1987), 118–47.

³ Jan Kanapariusz, "Świętego Wojciecha żywot pierwszy" [The first *Life of Adalbert*], in *W kręgu żywotów świętego Wojciecha* [On the Lives of St. Adalbert], ed. Jan Andrzej Spież (Cracow: TYNIEC Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 1997), 33–77.

⁴ See above, p. 89, n. 1.

PASSIO SANCTI ADALBERTI
MARTIRIS CHRISTI



LIFE OF SAINT ADALBERT BISHOP OF
PRAGUE AND MARTYR

PASSIO SANCTI ADALBERTI MARTIRIS CHRISTI

<1.> *Est locus* in partibus Germaniæ, diues opibus, præpotens armis ferocibusque uiris, *quem* incolæ Sclauoniam *cognomine dicunt*.¹ Huius maxima pars infidelitatis errore preuenta, creaturam pro creatore, lignum uel lapidem pro Deo colunt.² Plerique uero nominatenus christiani, ritu gentilium uiuunt, quibus *causa periculi fit res salutis*.³ Nonnulli tamen ex eadem gente et bene credunt et pro spe futuræ mercedis⁴ bona opera agunt. Igitur in illis finibus, ubi christianitatis religio pulcherrima floruit, erat uir Zlaunic⁵ nomine, potens in honore et diuitiis, amore iustitiæ ac operibus misericordiæ perrarus ciuis; uir magnus inter cunctos eius terræ habitatores, auro et argento locupletissimus, inter delicias fidus custos diuinæ legis, *ambulans sollicitè iuxta precepta*⁶ sacerdotum, carus toti populo, sed proprie amicus pauperum. His accepit uxorem⁷ dignam generis

¹ For this beginning, inspired by classical reminiscences, see Vergil, *Aen.* 1.530-531 and cf. Statius, *Theb.* 5.305 (*insula diues agris opibusque armisque uirisque*). In the tenth and at the beginning of the eleventh century, *Sclauonia* as well as its cognates *Sclauus* and *Sclauonicus*, while also used to refer to all the lands inhabited by Slavs, denoted more particularly the Czechs and the Poles.

² Alluding to Rom. 1:25 and Dan. 5:23.

³ Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 9.219 (*fit causa periculi res salutis*).

⁴ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 19.14.

⁵ Slavník (d. 981) was the ruler of Eastern Bohemia, the head of a clan (called by modern historians the Slavníks) centered (after 950) around Libice, which competed during the tenth century with the Přemyslid dukes in Prague, to whom they were related. According to Bruno of Querfurt, Slavník was also related to the German King and Emperor Henry II (1002-1024); see Bruno, *Vita S. Adalberti* 1 (ed. Karwasińska, 3). The traditional depiction of the Slavníks as the powerful and almost independent rivals of the ruling Přemyslids has been increasingly questioned in recent research especially as a result of modern archaeological investigations of the sites associated with

LIFE OF SAINT ADALBERT BISHOP OF PRAGUE AND MARTYR

1. *There is a place* in the parts of Germany, rich in resources, most mighty in arms, and ferocious men, *called* Sclavonia *by its inhabitants*.¹ The greatest part of this land, held fast in pagan error, worships the creature instead of its Creator, sticks and stones instead of God.² And, moreover, many among them, Christians in name only, live according to the rites of the pagans; for them, *the things pertaining to salvation have turned into a source of danger*.³ Nevertheless, a few among this nation both rightly believe and do good deeds in the hope of the reward to come.⁴ In those parts, then, where the Christian religion was flourishing most splendidly, there was a man called Slavník,⁵ mighty in rank and riches, a citizen whose love of righteousness and charitable works were very rarely matched. He was an important man among all the inhabitants of that country, extremely rich in gold and silver, a staunch keeper of the divine law even amidst refined delights, *walking solicitous in the commandments*⁶ of the priests, loved by all the people, but, most of all, a friend of the poor. He took a wife⁷ worthy of his descent and herself plentifully endowed with admirable moral qualities.

them and of their extant coinage; for an overview of the debate, see Michal Lutovský and Zdeněk Petrů, *Slavnikovci-mýtus českého dějepisectví* [The Slavniks: A myth of Czech historiography] (Prague: Libri, 2004), and the various studies in *Slavnikovci v českých dějinách* [The Slavniks in Czech history], ed. Vojtěch Vaněk and Jiří K. Kroupa, Antiqua Cuthna 2 (Prague: Koniash Latin Press, 2007).

⁶ Cf. Ezek. 11:12 (*in praeceptis meis non ambulastis*) and Mic. 6:8 (*et sollicitum ambulare cum Deo tuo*).

⁷ Střezislava, also called Adilburc (d. 987), whose name is given only in two later mss. of Czech provenance (*Pr*₃ and *Tr*: *nomine Strebylawe*), was, according to Bruno of Querfurt (*Vita s. Adalberti* 1, ed. Karwasińska, 3), *ex genere Sclauorum ... nobilissima caro* "of Slavonic descent ... [from] a most noble lineage."

sui et ipsam honestis moribus plenam; quę audiendo *uerba uite*¹ plus sitiuit et eadem operando famem non expleuit; nec delectabatur matronarum pompis,² neque auro lapidibusque preciosis, pro minimo ducens, quę stulti maxima putant. Sancta erat moribus,³ sancta sermonibus, fortis, ut dicunt, in ieiunio,⁴ familiaris Deo in oratione; mater lugenti pupillo, peregrino et uiduę gratissima soror.⁵ Pro his ergo et his similibus, quas ambo egerant, uirtutibus honorauerunt eos nobiles et diuites, et coluerunt maxime pauperum turba.

<2.> Itaque cum de tam preñobili coniugio sancta proles merito foret nascitura, inter magnanimos iuuenes, quos procreauerant,⁶ natus est illis puer speciosior cunctis⁷; cui post in sacri baptismatis lauacro datum est nomen Woitec.⁸ Iste quantus esse futurus, cum ignoratum fuerit, parentes pepercerunt formę eius et pre nimia pulchritudine, quam habuit, destinauerunt eum seculo. Quicquid autem non solum^a error, uerum mala uenia parentum in hoc deliquit, mox culpę proditor,⁹ celestis irę gladius, correxit. Cerneret namque infantuli corpusculum subita magnitudine excreuisse et pre nimia inflatione uentrem toto corpore maiorem; sic in horas maiore dolore addito, periculum mortis imminere cepit. Turban-

^a non solum: pius *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*

¹ John 6:69; cf. also Acts 7:38.

² Karwasińska connects this passage to a biblical injunction (1 Tim. 2:9), but it is possible that *matronarum pompis* echoes Jerome's *Vita Hilarionis* 8 (*oblita matronalis pompae*).

³ Cf. Ennodius of Pavia, *Ep.* 9.34 (*sancta moribus uxore*).

⁴ *Vt dicunt* may either point to an oral source or, more likely, be an allusion to Jerome's *Tract. LIX in Psalmos* 108.261 (*quando ieiunat monachus, fortior fit ieiunio*).

⁵ Cf. Deut. 14:29, 16:11,14; Ps. 145:9.

⁶ According to Cosmas of Prague (*Chron.* 1.29), besides Adalbert, the couple had five other sons: Soběbor (called Soběslav by Thietmar of Merseburg, *Chron.* 6.12/9), Spytmír, Pobraslav, Pořej, and Čáslav; Slavník also had another son, born of a different mother, called Radim-Gaudentius (see below, p. 118, n. 2).

⁷ On this commonplace in episcopal *Vitae* of the time, see the discussion by C. Stephen Jaeger, "The Courtier Bishop in Vitae from the Tenth to the Twelfth Century," *Speculum* 58 (1983): 291–325, at 298–300 with further examples. The way in which

The more she heard the *words of eternal life*,¹ the more she thirsted for them, and the more she practiced them, the more she hungered after them. She found no pleasure in matronly display,² nor in gold and precious stones, reckoning as next to nothing those things which foolish people treasure most. Holy was her behavior,³ holy her words, steadfast was she—as they say—in her fasting,⁴ intimate with God in her prayers, a mother to the grieving orphan, to the stranger and the widow a most benevolent sister.⁵ Therefore, for such and similar virtuous deeds which both of them had performed, the nobles and the rich paid them honor, while the crowd of the poor paid them great respect.

2. Then, as it was only fitting that from this most excellent pair a holy issue should be born, in addition to the other admirable boys whom they had begotten,⁶ a child was born to them more good-looking than all others,⁷ who in the font of holy baptism was then given the name Vojtěch.⁸ As it was not yet suspected what a great man he would become, his parents showed themselves partial to his good looks and, because of his outstanding beauty, destined him to a worldly career. Yet whatever the parents' error—or, rather, their inappropriate license—had done wrong in this respect was soon set right by the sword of divine anger, *the betrayer of their fault*.⁹ For you could see the small body of the little baby suddenly increase in size, and his belly, swollen beyond measure, growing bigger than his entire body, so that, as pain grew worse with every passing hour, the threat of death began to loom over him. The

the author of the *Life* of Adalbert condemns the saint's parents for favoring his physical beauty, a desirable quality in a man destined to a worldly career, is quite revealing for his ascetic bent and for the consistently monastic reading he gives of Adalbert's life.

⁸ The variant spellings (*Woietech*, *Vvoitec*, *Woiteh*, *Voyczech*) attested in the manuscript tradition reflect the Czech and the Polish versions of the saint's name, of which Bruno of Querfurt (*Vita s. Adalberti* 1, ed. Karwasińska, 3) and a good number of manuscripts also offer an interpretation in Latin: *consolatio exercitus* "the consolation (i.e., the consoler) of the army."

⁹ Ovid, *Amores* 2.8.25.

tur parentes; decurrunt ubertim lacrimę patris et curuis unguibus lacerat ora pallida nutrix¹; stant mesti fratres²; sequitur dolor³ inter viscera matris, nec uox, nec animus, nec color certa sede manent.⁴ Tandem sub ipsa morte confugiunt ad pium et misericordem Dominum et, quę pro hominum necessitate plus omnibus sanctis succurrere solet, matrem Domini appellant. Inde ueniunt ad templum cum magna humilitate ac deiectione cordis; ponentesque puerum super altare sanctę Marię, uotum placabile⁵ uouerunt eum Domino. His ita actis, auersa est indignatio Dei, et extenuato uentre puer pristinę redditur pulchritudini.

<3.> Parentes uero, qui causa huius mali erant, penitentia ducti⁶ glorificauerunt Dominum, qui pro melioratione hominum irę suę flagella⁷ disponere nouit.^a Puer autem proficiens etate et sapientia,⁸ ubi tempus erat, christianis imbuitur litteris; nec egressus est domum patris, donec memoriter didicit psalterium. Deinde pro discendis liberalibus studiis⁹ misit eum pater ad archiepiscopum Adalbertum,¹⁰ qui ab eo, quod uerbis docuit, moribus et uita nusquam discessit. Pręerat autem idem sacrę urbi, quę latine Virginum Ciuitas, grece Parthenopolis¹¹ uocatur; urbs quondam nota populis et una ex magnis urbibus, dum primus Otto¹² scepra rega-

^a flagella disponere nouit *Ls*: disponere flagella nouit *LLAqRv*₂

¹ *Pallida nutrix* comes from Propertius, *Eleg.* 4.3.41 and *curuis unguibus* echoes Horace, *Epod.* 5.91 and Juvenal, *Sat.* 8.127 and 13.167.

² Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 9.468 (*turribus altis stant maesti*) and Statius, *Theb.* 1.548 (*stant maesti comites*).

³ Cf. Propertius, *Eleg.* 2.8.31 (*tantus in erepto saeuit amore dolor*).

⁴ Cf. Horace, *Carm.* 1.13.5–6 (*nec mens mihi nec color certa sede manet*).

⁵ The author's *uotum placabile* is reminiscent of *placabile sacrificium* "sacrifice of atonement" in Exod. 29:33.

⁶ Cf. Matt. 27:3 (*paenitentia ductus*).

⁷ The image of God's scourges (*flagella Domini*) comes from the Old Testament (see Jdt. 8:27; Ps. 31:10).

⁸ Adalbert's early childhood is patterned on that of Jesus; cf. Luke 2:52 (*Iesus proficiebat sapientia aetate et gratia*).

parents were in turmoil; his father's tears flowed abundantly and his *pale nurse's curved nails*¹ tore her cheeks; *grieved*, his brothers *stood by*²; *pain raged*³ in his mother's entrails as *neither her voice*, nor her spirits, *nor her countenance held steady*.⁴ Then, at last, on the very threshold of death, they sought refuge with the kind and all-merciful Lord and they invoked the Mother of God, who, more than all the other saints, is wont to succor people in their hour of need. They came, therefore, to church, greatly humbled and disheartened; and, placing the child over the altar of Holy Mary, they consecrated him, a votive offering of atonement, to the Lord.⁵ When this was done, God's anger was averted and, the swelling of his belly gone, the child was restored to his initial beauty.

3. The parents, then, who were responsible for this misfortune, seized by remorse,⁶ praised the Lord who knows how to apply the scourges of his anger⁷ for the betterment of humans. And the boy, increasing in wisdom and in years,⁸ when the time came, was imbued with Christian learning; he did not leave his father's home before he had learned the Psalter by heart. Then his father sent him to study the liberal disciplines⁹ with Adalbert the archbishop,¹⁰ whose words and teaching were never in disagreement with his character and lifestyle. He was set over the holy city which is called in Latin "the City of the Virgins," and in Greek Parthenopolis.¹¹ This was a city once well-known to the peoples and one of the great cities while Otto I¹² held the royal scepter; now, however, on

⁹ Another *topos*, for which see Jaeger, "The Courtier Bishop," 300.

¹⁰ Adalbert, a former monk at the Benedictine Abbey of St. Maximinus in Trier, then missionary bishop for the Rus' (961–962), was finally appointed the first archbishop of Magdeburg (*sed.* 968–981).

¹¹ *Parthenopolis* (var. *Partinopolis*), the Greek translation of Lat. *Civitas Virginum*, was one of the names under which the city of Magdeburg was known in the tenth and eleventh centuries (see Siegbert of Gembloux, *Chron. s. a.* 940, in MGH SS 6; ed. Bethmann, 348). For a description of Magdeburg at the time of Adalbert's stay, see Hansjürgen Brachmann, "Magdeburg im 10. Jahrhundert – St. Adalberts Schuljahre," in Kurnatowska, ed., *Tropami*, 37–52.

¹² Otto I the Great (b. 23 November 912 – d. 7 May 973) ruled between 936 and 973; he was ceremonially crowned as Roman emperor in Rome on 2 February 962.

lia rexit; nunc autem pro peccatis¹ semiruta domus et male fida statio nautis.² Ipso tempore erat magister scholarum Oetricus^a quidam philosophus,³ sub quo turba iuuenum et librorum copia multa, nimis crescente studio, floruerunt. Ergo archiepiscopus ille puerum cum magna caritate suscipiens, dat sibi confirmationem sacrosancti chrismatis et suo nomine Adalbertum appellans, tradidit scolis. Aderat sibi discenti spiritus semper^b indiuiduus comes,⁴ et currunt *diuite uena*⁵ ingenium, ratio et sensus.

<4.> Toto autem tempore scholaris studii *non emulatus fuerat facientes iniquitatem, nec stetit in consilio*⁶ eorum, quibus erant inutilis actus et puerilia negocia; sed mox, ubi longius aliquo positus magister ei locum prebuit, occultis itineribus ad sanctorum martyrum domicilia⁷ confugit. Ibi secundum mensuram temporis oracionum uota persoluens, rursum ante occursum magistri loco suo resedit. Noc-tibus quoque, ut opus suum bonum^c ab humanibus laudibus occultaret, circuit *pauperes et debiles et cecos*,⁸ quibus secundum modum

^a Oetricus *Ls*: *Karwasińska* Astricus *l. c.*

^b semper *Ls*: *om. LLqRv*₂

^c suum bonum *Ls*: suum *LLRv*₂, bonum *Ad₁Cc₁Cc₂Cc₃*

¹ Karwasińska in her edition, 6, n. 16 suggests that the author's *pro peccatis* refers to a widespread opinion that regarded as a sin the abusive suppression of the episcopal see of Merseburg in 981 by Bishop Giselher (d. 1004), who became the second archbishop of Magdeburg by bribery and fraud, in collusion with Emperor Otto II (cf. Thietmar, *Chron.* 3.14 and 16). However, here *pro peccatis* may also refer to a commonplace Christian conception, which would explain the decay of the city as a divine punishment for the sin of its inhabitants—this is, in fact, what Thietmar's text implies: *non illi soli, sed communis nostris peccatis imputo* (*Chron.* 3.16; MGH SS n.s. 9; ed. Holtzmann, 115).

² This passage rewrites creatively Vergil's description of the island of Tenedos (*Aen.* 2.22–24); while *statio male fida* is the only verbatim quotation, as noted by Karwasińska, the author has also reformulated *notissima fama* as *quondam nota populis* and *Priami dum regna manebant* as *dum primus Otto scepra regalia rexit*. This classicizing description of Magdeburg decries the decay of that city, which followed the significant destruction caused by the war with the Slavic tribes of the Liutizi in 997.

³ Othrich the *scholasticus* (d. 981), a Benedictine monk, was the head of the cathedral school in Magdeburg. His name is variously given by the manuscripts of the *Life* of Adalbert as Oetricus (the German branch, followed here; so also Oetricus in the *Life* written by Bruno of Querfurt and in Thietmar's *Chronicle*) or Stericus (in the Italian branch).

account of sins,¹ it is merely a half-ruined house and a treacherous haven for sailors.² At that time a certain Othrich the philosopher³ was master of the school, and under him the crowd of youths and the great number of books were thriving, as zeal for studying grew wondrously. So, that archbishop received the child with great affection, gave him the confirmation of the holy chrism, and calling him Adalbert after his own name, gave him over to the school. As long as he was studying, Adalbert always had the Holy Spirit as his inseparable companion,⁴ and *the rich vein* of his talent,⁵ his reasoning and his intelligence never ran dry.

4. Now, all throughout the period of his studies he did not *imitate them that work iniquity*, nor *did he stand in the counsel*⁶ of those who engaged in futile things and childish pastimes. Instead, as soon as his teacher gave him an opportunity by going away somewhere, he would rush on hidden paths to the dwellings of the holy martyrs.⁷ There, after bringing the offering of his prayers for as long as the time permitted, he would again sit at his place before his teacher returned. Even at night, so as to conceal his good work from human praise, he used to go around visiting *the poor, the crippled, and the blind*,⁸ to whom he offered friendly comfort,

The form printed by Karwasińska (Astricus) is due apparently to her misreading of *Ls*, which has, in fact, *Oetricus* (cf. her critical edition, 6 with the apparatus ad loc.).

⁴ *Individuus comes* may go back to Jerome's *De uiris inl.* 7 (see also Ambrose, *De excessu fratris*: 1.74 and Paulinus of Nola, *Ep.* 11.1).

⁵ Cf. Horace's mining metaphor in *Ars poetica* 409 (*studium sine diuite uena*).

⁶ A conflation of two phrases from the Psalms: *neque aemuleris facientes iniquitatem* (Ps. 36:1) and *non abiit in consilio impiorum et in uia peccatorum non stetit* (Ps. 1:1).

⁷ Magdeburg was famous for its cult of St. Maurice, whose relics were housed in the Benedictine abbey (later cathedral) built to honor him in the reign of Otto I. The "body of St. Maurice [...] along with the bodies of some of the saint's companions and portions of other saints" were translated in 961 to Magdeburg (Thietmar, *Chron.* 2.17/11; trans. David A. Warner in *Ottoman Germany: The Chronicon of Thietmar of Merseburg* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), 104).

⁸ Cf. Luke 14:21 (*pauperes ac debiles et caecos et claudos*). As noted by Karwasińska (in her edition, 7) a similar passage occurs in the *Life of St. Boniface*, one of the patrons of the Roman monastery where Iohannes Canaparius probably wrote his *Life of St. Adalbert*.

miseriarum¹ amica solamina prestat. Verum ne a bonę operationis studio cessaret,² pater eius et optima mater omnia sufficienter dederunt. Quin et magistro suo aurum et argentum, et quę oculis hominum dignissima erant offerentes, cari filii doctrinam magno precio emerunt. Ille uero indefesso cursu ad omne uirtutum exercitium semet ipsum semper extendens,³ inter suos collegas pulcherrimus processit. Recessu magistri, quando ceteri inanibus ludis et ioco laborem legendi sibi minuebant, ille Dauitici nectaris mella degustans spiritali risu se solabatur. Quando illi in angulis scolę prandentes dulcia obsonia magistro furantur, ille *furtiuas orationes*⁴ Domine suę mittens, angelicam sibi dapem mercabatur.

<5.> Videamus nunc inter alias uirtutes, quas habuit, quales sanctę simplicitatis effectus quantamque adhuc in puericia positus ostenderit castitatis suę prerogatiuam.^{a,5} Quadam die, dum iret de scolis, unus, qui erat socius itineris, prętereuntem puellam humo prostrauit et causa ludi eum desuper proiecit. Concurrunt scolares et quidnam foret acturus, cum ingenti cachinno expectant. Ille uero quia uestitam uirginem tetigit, o bona stultitia! iam se nupsisse uerissime credidit. Inde erigens se de inuisa uirgine, dedit se bene simplex puer in amarissimas lamentationes atque continuo imbre

^a quales sanctę simplicitatis effectus quantamque adhuc in puericia positus ostenderit castitatis suę prerogatiuam *Ll*: sanctę simplicitatis effectus, quantam adhuc in puericia positus ostenderit castitatis prerogatiuam *Aq*, quales sanctę simplicitatis affectus quantam adhuc in puericia positus ostendit caritatis prerogatiuam *Rv*₂, sanctę simplicitatis quam ditissimus erat *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*

¹ Cf. Tacitus, *Ann.* 1.31.4 (*modus miseriarum*).

² Cf. Gregory the Great, *Reg. past.* 1.15 (*recte sentiendi uigilantia amittitur, dum a bene operandi studio cessatur*).

³ Cf. John Cassian, *Conl.* 20.12 (*nisi etiam in illis uirtutibus indefesso cursu semet ipsum semper extenderit*).

⁴ "Stealthy prayers" (*furtiuas orationes*), i.e., spiritual food, here contrasted, in an apt rhetorical figure, with the earthly dishes stolen (*furantur*) by Adalbert's classmates; cf. Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Euang.* 2.34.18 (*furtiuas orationes quaerere*).

⁵ Reading *quales sanctę simplicitatis effectus quantamque adhuc in puericia positus ostenderit castitatis suę prerogatiuam* with ms. *Ll*; the text is almost identical in *Aq* and

appropriate to the degree of their misfortunes.¹ But lest he should weaken in his zeal for performing good deeds,² his father and his excellent mother provided him with everything sufficiently. Indeed, to his teacher too they offered gold, and silver, and whatever to human eyes seemed most precious, thus buying instruction for their dear son at a high price. For his part, with tireless effort he exerted himself incessantly to the practice of every virtue,³ and progressed most beautifully among his colleagues. When their teacher went away, while the others lightened the burden of their readings with inane games and amusement, he would find his relief in spiritual merriment by tasting the sweetness of Davidic honey. And while, at lunch time, in hidden corners of the school they were feasting on tasty dishes taken by stealth from their master, he would send up *stealthy prayers*⁴ to his Lady, thus earning himself a feast fit for angels.

5. Let us see now, among the other virtues that he had, what visible proofs of holy simplicity and what outstanding degree of chastity he manifested even while still a child!⁵ One day, as Adalbert was coming from school, one of those walking with him knocked to the ground a girl who was passing by and, just for fun, pushed him down on top of her. All the students came running up and stood by waiting, amidst uproars of laughter, to see what he would do next. Well, he was fully convinced—o, admirable ignorance!—that, as he had been on top of the fully-clothed virgin, he had in fact had intercourse with her. Therefore, getting off the detested virgin and up to his feet, that admirably naive boy abandoned himself to most bitter lamentations and, his eyes drenched by

*Rv*₂ (although the latter has a significant variant *caritatis* “spiritual affection” instead of *castitatis*). This is probably the original version of the text, not the abbreviated one in *Ls* and the other manuscripts, which was printed by Karwasińska. The evidence of *Ll* is reported differently by Hoffmann in his edition (see p. 35, apparatus ad loc., which gives *castitatis*, and p. 95) and by Karwasińska, whose edition (see p. 8, apparatus ad loc.) has *Ll* read here *caritatis*. Not having inspected the ms. myself, I follow Hoffmann.

oculos humectans: “Heu me! nupseram,”¹ inquit et criminis machinatorem digito monstrans: “Hic me,” ait “nubere fecit!” Haec et his similia deo plenus infantulus iam tunc agendo, multorum oculos in se defixit mirantium eius facta ac dicentium: “Benedicens benedixit hunc puerum Deus, quia infra limina puericię adhuc positus, ad optima quęque sic arduus surgit. *O ter quaterque beatus*,² si hęc humanitatis studia tota deuotione compleuerit³ et arrepti operis cursum congruo exitu terminauerit!”³ Quibus uero cognitus erat pater et eius mirifica mater: “Non est mirum,” inquiunt, “si tantus est de tantis parentibus ortus. Patris iustitia floret in eo, et maternę pietatis imago⁴ in purpureo pectore uernat.”

Quot annis studuit, incertum est,⁵ sed quia sęcularis philosophię⁶ sat scientissimus erat, nouimus omnes. Quem Dominus, credo, ad hoc humanę philosophię studere uoluit, ut post diuinę sapientię montes faciliore gressu scandere quisset; aut potius seculi amara paruulus potare debuit, ut post uir factus, Dei dulcia audidiore animo hauriret.

^a compleuerit *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; adimpleuerit *LsLlAqRv₂*

¹ Most modern translations render *nupseram* in this passage as “I got married,” thus missing the point of Canaparius’s forceful (and probably imagined) description of Adalbert’s horror of sex, an appropriate feature of the monastic profile the author constructed for his hero. In fact, Lat. *nubo* is used in postclassical times with the meaning “to have sex,” which I believe fits this context much better, given Canaparius’s pointed reference to the *uestitam uirginem* (“fully-clothed virgin”) on top of whom Adalbert found himself, in a position clearly reminiscent of sexual intercourse. For a translation with similar sexual connotations, see Berschin, *Biographie*, vol. 4.1, 163 with n. 487.

² A Vergilian blessing; cf. *Aen.* 1.94 (*o terque quaterque beati*).

³ Cf. John Cassian, *Conl.* 2.2. (*humanitatis etiam studia tota deuotione complentes ita uidimus repente deceptos, ut arreptum opus non potuerint congruo exitu terminare*). For a detailed discussion of how the author adapted (both rhetorically and ideologically) John Cassian’s original in this passage, see my study “(Re)claiming Adalbert,” 35–6.

an endless rain of tears, he said: "O wretched me! I had sex!"¹; then, pointing his finger to the instigator of the crime: "He made me do it!" It was by doing such and other similar things that the God-filled young boy even at that time attracted to himself the eyes of many, who admired his actions and said: "With his blessing did God bless this child, who, even though he is not yet past the threshold of his childhood, nevertheless aspires so fervently to whatever is best! *O three and four times fortunate*,² if he could only complete his studies here with unabated dedication and if he could only bring to a suitable end the course of action on which he has embarked!"³ But those who knew his father and his wonderful mother said: "Small wonder if such a boy should be born of such parents! His father's righteousness flourishes in him and the likeness of his mother's piety⁴ blossoms in his rosy chest!"

How many years he studied is uncertain,⁵ yet we all know that he was indeed very well-versed in the learning of this world.⁶ I believe that the Lord wanted him to study human learning to this purpose, that later he might ascend the peaks of divine wisdom with easier steps; or, rather, while still a small boy, he had to taste the bitterness of this world, so that later, as a fully grown man, he could drink his fill of the sweet things of God all the more avidly.

⁴ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 9.294 (*patriae* [...] *pietatis imago* "the image of paternal piety").

⁵ Bruno of Querfurt (*Vita s. Adalberti* 6, ed. Karwasińska, 6) mentions nine years spent studying (*annos ter ternos*) while Cosmas of Prague (*Chron.* 1.25) knows of "ten or more" (*decem aut plus*).

⁶ Lit. *secularis philosophię* "the philosophy of this world," here intended as a general name for secular learning as suggested by the contrast with "divine wisdom" (*diuinę sapientię*). Of the various works traditionally ascribed to Adalbert, which might have testified to his secular learning and skill as an author, none can be accepted as authentic; see the overview by Henryk Fros, "Czy biskup-męczennik pozostawił po sobie spuściznę literacką?" [Did the bishop-martyr leave behind any literary heritage?] in Kurnatowska, ed., *Tropami*, 133–45; and Wood, *The Missionary Life*, 212–5, who still regards the *Passio of Gorgonius* and the *Homily on St. Alexius* as possibly authored by Adalbert. On another text recently attributed to Adalbert, see below, p. 123, n. 3.

6. After this, the master of the school, being recruited into the imperial service, left for the royal court.¹ The archimandrite Adalbert, paying his debt to nature, had sailed from this sea to the shores of eternal bliss.² As for his protégé, he went back to see his native country, those close and dear to him, and took up the arms of Christian soldiery, having in mind to do his service under the bishop of the holy city of Prague.³

Not long after that, a most grievous illness⁴ seized the bishop and his last day came, which was to put an ignominious end to his life.⁵ Indeed, with his last breath, while his soul was, for the most part, still within him,⁶ in a pained voice he gave the following little speech to those who were standing at his side (our young man was one of them): “Woe to me! How was I once and how am I now, so much different⁷ from what I would like myself to be! Oh, wretched me! I have wasted my days⁸; the fruit of my penance⁹ is nowhere in sight! Now my honor and my useless riches will perish. Oh, flesh that rots and food for worms, where is now the glory and the beauty of your vanity? You deceived me, you deceived me, you lying world, when you promised me a life rich in years!¹⁰ And now? Look how treacherously you have struck down my soul with

⁵ Archbishop Dětmar died on 2 January 982.

⁶ Cf. Ovid, *Amores* 1.15.41 (*pars mei multa superstes erit*). Such criticism of predecessors, contemporaries, or successors is instrumental in building an encomiastic profile in episcopal hagiography; see Stephanie Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum: Eine Quellengattung zwischen Hagiographie und Historiographie, untersucht an Lebensbeschreibungen von Bischöfen des Regnum Teutonicum im Zeitalter der Ottonen und Salier* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 2000), 95–102.

⁷ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 2.274 (*Ei mihi, qualis erat! quantum mutatus ab illo*) and also Statius, *Theb.* 7.706 (*quantum subito diuersus ab illo*); *diuersus*, the majority reading is also attested in the Italian branch of the manuscript tradition of the Aventine version (*Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*).

⁸ Possibly echoing the famous words of Emperor Titus reported by Suetonius, *Tit.* 8.1 (*amici, diem perdidit*).

⁹ Cf. Matt. 3:8 (*fructum dignum paenitentiae*) and Luke 3:8 (*fructus dignos paenitentiae*).

¹⁰ Cf. Augustine, *In Ioh. ev. tract.* 12.2 (*annosa iam aetate*).

meum scelus utcumque ueniabile tamen^a erga pium Dominum foret, nisi commendatę plebis scelera ad cumulum miseriarum accessissent. Voluptates enim et desideria eis pro lege erant¹; nec prohibui furentem, nec prohibere potui sponte pereuntem populum, qui adhuc hodie nil sciunt uel faciunt, extra quod digitus satanę in eorum cordibus scripsit. Ve mihi, quia silui!² Hoc est, quod dolet et dolebit in ęuum.³ Nam ecce! dirę mortis uictima in infernum recta uia proficiscar, ubi *uermes mei non morientur*,³ et *ignis meus ardebit*⁵ in ęternum et ultra!⁶ Sic ait et citius dicto^{b,7} obdormiuit; *factusque est planctus magnus super eum*.⁸ *Timuerunt autem timore magno*,⁹ sed pre omnibus adolescens Adalbertus, qui his diebus deliciosus miles erat. Nocte etiam eadem sacco indutus cilicino et caput cano cinere respergens, singulas circuit ecclesias. Pauperibus quoque, quę habuit, large dispergens,^c se et causam suam precibus Domino commendauit.¹⁰ Ipsi uero episcopatus dignitatem iam tunc aliqui tacitis repromissionibus,^d nonnulli publico sermone promiserunt.

^a tamen *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; *om. LLAqRv₂*

^b citius dicto *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; dicto *om. LLAqRv₂*, citius hoc dicto *Pr₃Tr*, citius dicto hoc *Wr*

^c dispergens *Ls Ad₁* (cf. disperdens *Cc₁Cc₂Cc₃*); distribuens *LLAqRv₂*

^d repromissionibus *LsRv₂*; promissionibus *LLAq*

¹ As noted by Karwasińska in her edition, 10, n. 33, this passage was inspired by St. Benedict's *Regula* 1.8 (*pro lege eis est desideriorum uoluptas* "the pleasure of their desires is their law," trans. Venarde, 16).

² Cf. Isa. 6:5 (*uae mihi quia tacui*).

³ Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 6.303 (*dolet, heu, semperque dolebit*).

⁴ Cf. Isa. 66:24 (*uermis eorum non morietur*) and Mark 9:43, 45, 47 (*uermis eorum non moritur*).

⁵ Cf. Mark 9:43, 45, 47 (*et ignis non exstinguitur*).

⁶ Exod. 17:17.

the sword of an unexpected death! Yet my own crime would still somehow find forgiveness with the merciful Lord if the crimes of the flock entrusted to me had not been added to the heap of my misery! For they had no law other than their pleasures and their desires¹; nor have I held in check the raving people; nor was I capable to hold them in check as they were willingly going to their doom, the same people who to this day know nothing and do nothing but what Satan's finger has inscribed in their hearts! Oh, woe to me, for I stood silent!² This is what pains me and will pain me³ till the end of times! For see, I—gruesome death's victim—shall now go straight to hell, where *my worms will not die*⁴ and *my fire will burn*⁵ *for an eternity and even beyond!*"⁶ So he spoke and he passed away *even quicker than his words*⁷; and *there was a great lamentation made over him*.⁸

Now, they were all *filled with great fear*,⁹ and most of all young Adalbert, who in those days was a most well-pleasing Christian soldier! The very same night, dressed in sackcloth and with grey ashes strewn on his head, he visited every single church. And what is more, he generously distributed to the poor all that he had, putting himself and his case at the mercy of the Lord in his prayers.¹⁰ And even as early as that there were some people who promised him the honor of the bishopric through private assurances, while others did so even by words spoken in public.

⁷ A Vergilian expression; cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 1.142 (*sic ait et dicto citius*). The latter was most probably the wording of the original version of Canaparius. Unfamiliar with such rare poetic tags, the copyists of mss. *LLAqRv*₂ distorted this classical borrowing (by omitting the problematic *dicto*) while the Italian group (*Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*), i.e., the Aventine version of the *Life*, preserved it.

⁸ Cf. 1 Macc. 1:26 (*factus est planctus magnus*) and Acts 8:2 (*fecerunt planctum magnum super eum*).

⁹ Cf. Jon. 1:10, 16, 1 Macc. 10:8 and Luke 2:9.

¹⁰ Cf. Cicero, *Ep. ad familiares* 7.21.6. (*ut se et causam suam sibi commendarem*).

<7.> Post mortem uero episcopi non longe ab urbe Praga factus est conuentus desolatę plebis una cum principe illius terrę,¹ et fit diligens inquisitio, quem pro illo ponerent. Responderunt autem omnes uno ore: “Et quis alius, nisi indigena noster Adalbertus, cuius actus, nobilitas, diuicię ac uita cum honore concordant?² Hic quo ipse gradiatur, optime nouit, hic etiam *ducatum animarum* prudenter amministrat!”³ Eodem die dominico, quando hęc electio facta est, quidam ualidissimo dęmone raptus, fertur in ęcclesiam, ubi sedes episcopalis est, et cepit palam confiteri mala sua, quorum sibi conscius erat. Tunc conuenerunt ministri dominicalis mense, orantes pro eo et sacris uerbis inimicum persequentes. Exclamauit autem per os illius impurissimus dęmon dicens: “Quid mihi et uobis?⁴ Venistis detrudere me de hoc habitaculo meo! Quid prodest uos iactare inania uerba? Ego illum, qui sessurus est in ista sede ualde timeo; ubicumque eum uideo uel audio, non ausus sum stare.” Et continuo spumans dęmon murmura et horrissona uerba⁵ ingeminat; et diris dentibus diu infrendens,⁶ ad ultimum exiuit homine sano. Die postero ante ortum solis uenit nuntius dicens, quia heri^a domnus Adalbertus consensu publico electus est in episcopum. Concurrunt populus et clerus, glorificantes et gratias agentes Domino, quia uolens nolensque nequam spiritus confessus est electionem illius.

^a heri *LsAd*; uere *LLAqRv*, *Rv*₂

¹ Boleslav II, duke of Bohemia (972–999). Cosmas of Prague, *Chron.* 1.25 specifies that this assembly took place on 19 February 982 in Levý Hradec (*Leuigradec*), on which see Kateřina Tomková, “Levý Hradec,” in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, vol. 1, 379–81.

² A similar formulation in Cosmas, *Chron.* 1.25, ed. Bretholz, 47 (*Tua nobilitas, tui mores et actus optime concordant cum honore pontificatus*). On episcopal elections in Ottonian hagiography, see Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 288–306.

³ A description of the ideal bishop informed by Gregory the Great, *Reg. past.* 40 (*ut praedicator [...] quo gradientur ostendat*) and *Ep.* 9.216 (*ducatum animarum impu-*

7. Then, after the death of the bishop, not far from the city of Prague an assembly was held of the desolate flock together with the ruler of that country¹ and a careful search was made for someone to replace him. And all answered in one voice: "Who other than our fellow-countryman, Adalbert, whose actions, noble origin, riches, and life are all in keeping with such honor?!² It is he who knows best the course he himself should follow, and it is he who also wisely administers *the guidance of souls!*"³

On the same Sunday when this election was made, a certain man possessed by a most powerful demon was brought into the church where the bishop's throne is and started to confess aloud the misdeeds of which he was guilty. Then the priests who served at the Lord's table gathered around him and started praying for him, pursuing the enemy by means of holy words. And the most filthy demon shouted aloud through that man's mouth, saying: "What do I have with you?⁴ You have come to evict me from my own dwelling! What use is there for you to launch against me empty words? It is only he who is about to sit on this throne that I fear greatly; wherever I happen to see or hear him I dare not stay." And foaming at his mouth incessantly, the demon redoubled his growls and frightful words⁵; and having gnashed his gruesome teeth for long,⁶ at last he came out, leaving that man safe and sound. The next day, before sunrise, there came a messenger with the news that the previous day lord Adalbert had been elected bishop by public consent. The people and the clergy came together, praising and giving thanks to the Lord because that impure spirit willy-nilly had confirmed Adalbert's election.

denter assumunt, quibus uia omnis ignota est et quo uel ipsi gradientur ignari sunt); cf. also, for a similar expression, *Ep.* 9.11 (*animarum ducatum*).

⁴ Cf. Mark 5:7 (*quid mihi et tibi?*) and Matt. 8:29 (*quid nobis et tibi?*).

⁵ Cf. Sedulius Scottus, *Carm.* 3.1 (*uocibus horrisonis murmuribusque sonans*).

⁶ I have attempted to reproduce in translation the highly expressive alliteration of the original (*et diris dentibus diu infrendens*), possibly suggested to our author by numerous biblical (Ps. 34:16: *frenduerunt super me dentibus suis*) or classical models (Vergil, *Aen.* 8.230: *dentibus infrendes*).

<8.> Rediens interea de Sarraceno bello,¹ adiit Veronam³ imperatorius apex, scilicet Otto secundus,² cui fuit manus in prelio fortis,⁴ in paruo corpore maxima uirtus; augustus melior bono patre⁵ et, ut fama meminit, per omnia cęsar christianissimus. Idem tunc uictor et uictus pro recolligendo milite huc uenerat, uolens ultum ire⁶ damna uictorię,⁷ sed nesciens, quia mors eum proxima pulsat.⁸ Ad hunc ergo Sclauonica manus perrexit, ferens legationem de parte ducis,⁹ et obtulit electum episcopum, rogans eius manu¹⁰ popularem confirmari electionem. Non minus imperator eorum dignę petitioni acquiescens, dat ei pastorem uirgam, et, cuius suffraganeus erat,¹² Magontino archipresuli¹¹ misit episcopum consecrandum. Consecratus ille festo amicorum Domini nostri Ihesu Christi, Petri et Pauli,¹³ multo comitatu equitat in dulcem patriam. Equus autem, cuius tergo insederat, non more frementium equorum nec properis cursibus gradiebatur, neque auro et argento

¹ Otto II led an ill-fated campaign meant to curb the Arab (and, perhaps, also Byzantine) domination of southern Italy. This campaign ended with a disastrous defeat in a battle traditionally located at Capo Colonna (13 July 982), where the imperial army suffered heavy losses and the emperor himself barely escaped alive, fleeing on board of a Byzantine ship. See now Dirk Alvermann, "La battaglia di Ottone II contro i Saraceni nel 982," *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania* 62 (1995): 115–30, who convincingly locates this battle near Reggio Calabria.

² Otto II (b. 955–d. 7 December 983) was proclaimed emperor in May 961 when he was six years old, crowned as co-ruler with his father Otto I on Christmas day 967, and ruled as single emperor from 973 until his death in 983.

³ The emperor probably stayed in Verona from mid-May till 17 June 983.

⁴ This description is patterned upon that of King David, whose name was interpreted by Christian exegesis as *manu fortis* "strong-handed" (see, for instance, Jerome, *Interpr. Hebr. nom.*, ed. Lagarde, 35 and Isidore of Seville, *Etym.* 7.6).

⁵ Otto I the Great.

⁶ Echoing Sallust, *Iugurth.* 68.1 (*cum maxima cura ultum ire iniurias festinat*).

⁷ In the battle a great number of important officials perished on the imperial side; yet the losses on the Arab side also seem to have been significant, as the commander of the Arab army himself, Abū'l Qāsim, the emir of Sicily, fell on the battlefield. This probably explains why our author presents Otto II as "both victor and vanquished" in spite of what seems to have been, in fact, a severe defeat. The planned retaliation campaign never took place, as the emperor died on 7 December 983 in Rome following an outbreak of malaria.

8. Meanwhile, returning from his war against the Saracens,¹ the pinnacle of imperial authority, that is, Otto II,² arrived in Verona.³ His hand was strong in battle⁴; his body may have been small, yet it showed the greatest fortitude of all; as a ruler, he was even better than his good father⁵ and, as fame records it, he was in all respects a most Christian Caesar. At that time, both victor and vanquished, he had come this way so as to reassemble his army, intending to avenge the losses⁶ he had incurred by his victory,⁷ but unaware that death was looming over him impatiently.⁸

So, a Slavonic delegation came to him bringing a message from the duke,⁹ and brought with them their elected bishop with the request that his election by the people be confirmed through his authority.¹⁰ The emperor, who approved of their worthy request no less [than the people], gave Adalbert the shepherd's staff and sent him on to the archbishop of Mainz,¹¹ whose suffragan he was,¹² to consecrate him as bishop.

After he was consecrated on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul,¹³ the companions of Our Lord Jesus Christ, he rode back to his beloved native country accompanied by many. And neither was the horse he mounted fretting impatiently or galloping as others do, nor was its harness shining with gold or silver, but it went on

⁸ Echoing Horace, *Carm.* 1.4.13 (*pallida mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas regumque turres*).

⁹ Boleslav II. *Sclauonica manus* here refers to the Czechs.

¹⁰ Lit. "by his hand" (*eius manu*). Adalbert's investiture took place in Verona, on 3 June 983. For similar hagiographic accounts of imperial investiture, see Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 306–10.

¹¹ Willigis, archbishop of Mainz (*sed.* 975–1011).

¹² The bishopric of Prague was since its establishment in 973 dependent on the archbishopric of Mainz, whose incumbents had metropolitan jurisdiction over the bishops of Prague.

¹³ 29 June 983, the traditional date of Adalbert's consecration, accepted by most scholars. However, Bertold Bretholz, relying on Cosmas, *Chron.* 1.26, has suggested that the consecration actually took place on 11 June in Verona, in the presence of the emperor (see his edition of Cosmas, MGH SS n.s. 2, 48, n. 1).

portat fulgentia frena, sed in rusticum morem *torta cannabe*^{a,1} ora strictus, inaccessit ad *arbitrium sedentis*.² Ventum est ad sanctam ciuitatem Pragam, ubi dux preclaus^b Wencezlaus³ quondam regnum tenuit ac in Dei seruitio uiuere suum egregie perduxit. Postea uero sub impii fratris⁴ ferro nobile martyrium consumans, manifestis indiciis ac ingentibus usque hodie miraculis sua merita probat.⁵ Ibi nouus ille pontifex uincla pedum soluens,⁶ nudo pede intrat urbem⁷; hinc humili et contrito corde orationis iura persoluens, magno gaudio ciuium episcopalem cathedram obsedit.

<9.> Erat autem cunctis diebus pontificatus [episcopii]^{c,8} sui *pie ac fideliter seruiens*⁹ Domino, sed multo tempore inproficuo labore christianitatis normam exercens in populo. Res ecclesiasticas

^a cannabe *Aq*: canabe *LLRv₁Rv₂*, canape *Ls*

^b preclaus *LsAd₁*: *om. LLAqRv₁Rv₂*

^c episcopii: *om. Rv₁Rv₂TrOs*, ut *glossema seclusi*

¹ This description of Adalbert's horse, an allegorical device for praising the hero for his mastery over his passions and his modesty, is reminiscent of a similar, albeit less allegorical description of a horse in two of the letters penned by Ruricius of Limoges, which I believe were known to the author of the *VA*; see *Ep.* 1.14 and especially 2.35, with which our text shares an essential image: *caballum ... nec uelocitate praeperperum, cui frenus et stimulus sit sedentis arbitrium*. I discuss this borrowing in "(Re)claiming Adalbert," 37–8.

² Persius, *Sat.* 5.146.

³ St. Wenceslas I, duke of Bohemia (921–935).

⁴ Boleslav I the Cruel, duke of Bohemia (935–972), assassinated his brother on 28 September 935.

⁵ This passage attests the cult of St. Wenceslas, which seems to have started quite soon after his murder, with miracles occurring at his grave; this led to the translation of his relics to the Church of St. Vitus in Prague sometime between 936 and 967 and the development of a rich hagiographic tradition during the tenth century and later. On this problematic *translatio* and its date, see Dušan Třeštík, "Translation und Kanonisation des heiligen Wenzel durch Boleslaw I," in *Die Heiligen und ihr Kult im Mittelalter*, ed. Eva Doležalová et al., 342–62 (Prague: Filosofia, 2010), 356–7. For the development

steadily pacing *as guided by its moderate rider*,¹ with just a piece of *hempen rope* for bridle,² of the same kind that the peasants use. He came back to the holy city of Prague, where that most famous duke Wenceslas³ had once reigned and had led an admirable life in God's service. Later, however, after consummating his noble martyrdom by the sword of his impious brother,⁴ to this day he has never ceased revealing his merits through manifest proofs and remarkable miracles.⁵ There, our new bishop untied the straps of his footwear⁶ and entered the city barefoot⁷; then, having fulfilled the rites of prayer with humble and contrite heart, amidst the great joy of the inhabitants he took possession of his episcopal throne.

9. And all throughout the days of his pontificate⁸ he kept on *serving the Lord with faith and devotion*,⁹ trying for a long time, yet with little gain to implement the rule of Christianity among his flock. He distributed the ecclesiastic revenues equitably in four

of the cult of St. Wenceslas in parallel with that of St. Adalbert in medieval Bohemia, see Lisa Wolverton, *Hastening Toward Prague: Power and Society in the Medieval Czech Lands* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001), 147–85.

⁶ Cf. Prudentius, *Ditt.* 8.4 (*solut uincla pedum*), *Cath.* 5.33 (*pedum uincla soluere*). *Vincla pedum* as a metaphoric name for footwear goes back to classical poetry; see, for instance, Vergil, *Aen.* 8.457, Ovid, *Amores* 3.1.11, Iuvencus, *Evang.* 1.337.

⁷ Such public displays of contrition are frequent in tenth-century sources and seem to have acquired a ritualized character in Ottonian times; for examples and discussion, see Gerd Althoff, *Otto III* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2003), 136–7. On Adalbert's episcopal *adventus* to Prague, see now Jacek Maciejewski, “*Nudo pede intrat urbem*: Research on the *Adventus* of a Medieval Bishop through the First Half of the Twelfth Century,” *Viator* 41 (2010): 89–100, and Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 305.

⁸ Both *pontificatus* and *episcopium* have the same meaning, “episcopal office,” and are redundant as they now stand in most of the mss. I believe the latter is probably a gloss of the former (by far less common in medieval usage), integrated into the text at some point in its evolution.

⁹ Cf. John Cassian, *Conl.* 24.25 (*pie enim ac fideliter servientes*).

sub æqua diuisione distribuit in quattuor partes.¹ Primam partem pro necessariis uel ornatibus ecclesie, secundam commoditatibus canonicorum ascripsit; terciam uero in agmina pauperum proflua miseratione expendens, ultimę partis summulam pro suis usibus seruat. Pręterea omni die festo plurimos pauperes elemosinarios ad misericordię opera uocat, quę eis necessaria erant, affluente copia ministrans. Item cotidianis diebus ter quaternos habere solitus erat, quos in apostolici nominis honorem dape et potu saciabat. Raro autem extra festum aliquid uidit eum meridianus sol manducantem, et nunquam media nox somno indulgentem. Stat lectus plurimis et ostro rigidus, die oculos hominum pascens. Nocte uero aut habuit fratrem Gaudentium,² aut cęcum natum, extra quos, suo cubili amicissima familiaritate iunctos, et se, tertium, nemo quartus in una recubuit^a domo. Ipsi uero nuda humus uel lene cilicium et lapis pro capitis sustentaculo somnum dabant.³ Numquam saturo uentre iuit dormitum, et nondum expleto sopore, surgit ad solite orationis conuiuia.^b Corpus uero et *corporis incentiua*⁴ acerrimis attriuerat ieiuniis nec ulli umquam uoluptati animum dare uolebat.⁵ *Parua quies*⁶ oculis et nulla uenia est defessis^c pedibus.

^a in una recubuit *Rv₁Rv₂*; recubuit in una *LsLLAq*

^b conuiuia *LsLlRv₁Rv₂*; communia *Aq*

^c defessis *LlRv₁Rv₂Aq*; defectis *Ls*

¹ This fourfold division of church revenues, known as the *quadripartitum*, is first attested in Rome in late fifth century, under Pope Gelasius I (*sed.* 492–496); see his *Ep.* 14.27 (ed. Thiel, 378).

² Gaudentius (d. ca. 1006), by his Slavic name Radim “the Cheerful,” (b. 970), the younger brother of St. Adalbert and his faithful companion, later became archbishop of Gniezno. In 999 he was mentioned with the unusual title of *archiepiscopus sancti Adalberti* “archbishop of St. Adalbert” in a document issued by Otto III (see MGH DD O III 2.2, ed. Sickel, 768, no. 339).

³ This is an ascetic practice often mentioned in other hagiographic texts; for asceticism as a required virtue in episcopal hagiography, see Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 245–53 with further examples.

parts: the first part he reserved for the necessary expenses and the decoration of the church and the second for the necessities of the canons; and while he spent the third part, with overflowing compassion, on the troops of the poor, he reserved the fourth part—a tiny sum!—for his own needs.¹ In addition to this, on every feast day he called many poor people who depended on alms to the works of his charity, distributing to them with great largesse all that they needed. Also, he used to have every day twelve people who would dine with him, eating and drinking to their heart's content, in honor of the Apostles. Except on feast days, it was but rarely that the midday sun could see him eating anything, and midnight would never find him tasting the pleasure of sleep. There stood his bed, packed thick with feathers and purple coverlets, on which people could feast their eyes during daytime; at night, however, he had either his brother Gaudentius,² or a man born blind sleep there; except for these, whom he, in a gesture of most intimate friendship, allowed to share his bedchamber, and except for himself as the third man, there was never a fourth person sleeping in the same chamber. As for himself, it was the bare ground or some thin sackcloth and a stone instead of pillow that would ease him into sleep.³ Never did he go to bed with a full stomach, and he rose before he could have his full share of sleep in order to feast himself on his customary prayers. He mortified his body and *all that stimulates the body*⁴ by means of very severe fasting, and he never wished to give the least encouragement to any sort of passion.⁵ There was but *little repose*⁶ for the eyes, and no indulgence for weary feet.

⁴ John Cassian, *Inst.* 5.11.1.

⁵ Cf. Gregory the Great's portrait of St. Benedict in his *Dialogi* 2, Prol. 1 (*nulli animi uoluptati dedit*).

⁶ Lucan, *Phars.* 5.504.

<10.> Lustrauerat enim carcerem et carcere positos,¹ quorum longa series et infinitum agmen erat. Nulli plus nota propria domus quam sibi erat, quis, quo nomine et in qua parte cubaret infirmus aut quot capita *rediuiua salus*² uite, quot *fatalis hora* mitteret *lēto*.³ Quorum omnium post pia obsequia, si seminis tempus erat, ad campum decurrit et satione peracta, unde uiueret, propriis manibus se laborasse gaudebat.⁴ Hinc uiator intrepidus aderat sacris ēdibus; sepius Domini precator importunus cēlestes fores pulsat. Nunc longis genuum flexibus orationem protrahens, nunc ēgra suspiria cordis multo flumine rigat. A completorio usque ad primam⁵ non exiit sermo de ore eius, et ad instar monachicę professionis⁷ nocturna *silentia seruat*.⁶ Post primam pastoralibus causis studia sua impendit, audiens diligenter, quid cum predato paupere peregrinus et uidua eiularent.⁸ Quando autem exteriore cura uacabat, usque ad celebrationem missę Dauiticis utitur colloquiis. Homini non locutus est uerbum, quamdiu dominicę infulatus astitit mense et supra sancta sanctorum immolat angelicum panem. Post aut opera manuum laborat, aut cum caris capellanis sacre lectionis cibaria degustat.^{a,9} His ociis longum diem, talibus negociis totam ducere noctem. Hi sibi mores, hoc studium, hęc erat meta uiuendi.¹⁰

^a degustat *LlAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; degustans *LsAqRv₁Rv₂*

¹ Cf. Matt. 25:36, 43. For a discussion of such works of charity in episcopal hagiography, see Haarlānder, *Vitae episcoporum*, 244–5.

² Paulinus of Nola, *Carm.* 31.175.

³ Lucan, *Phars.* 9.48.

⁴ A hagiographic topos, for which see Berschin, *Biographie*, vol. 4.1, 88–9 with n. 301.

⁵ Compline is the final church service (or office) of the day in the tradition of canonical hours and prime the first service of the new day.

⁶ Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 4.423 (*uacuisque silentia seruat*) and Iuvenecus, *Euang.* 4.598 (*miranda silentia seruat*).

⁷ As was recommended by St. Benedict, *Regula* 42.8 (*exeuntes a completoriis, nulla sit licentia denuo cuiquam loqui aliquid* “once they leave Compline, nobody should be permitted to say anything further,” tr. Venarde, 145).

⁸ Deut. 10:18, 14:29.

10. He had visited, you see, the prison and those in it,¹ whose number was large and countless their crowd. No one knew the inside of their own homes better than he knew every single sick person by name and where they were lying, or how many people their *revived health*² would send back to life and how many *the fatal hour to death*.³ After he piously buried all these, if time was ripe for sowing, he would rush to the field and, after laying the seed into the ground, he would rejoice in the fact that he had earned his living by the labor of his own hands.⁴ Then, traveling swiftly, he would go to the holy churches; quite often he would knock on heaven's door as God's unseasonable suppliant; sometimes he would draw out his prayer, accompanying it with long genuflections, at other times he would drench his sorrowful sighs in an overflowing river of tears. From the time of the compline until that of the prime⁵ not a word came out from his mouth and he *observed the nocturnal silence*⁶ just as do those who take monastic vows.⁷ After the prime, he dedicated his attention to pastoral matters, listening with particular care to the laments of the plundered poor, to those of the stranger, and to those of the widow.⁸ Even when he was free of external cares, he would entertain himself with Davidic psalmody until the time came to celebrate mass. He spoke no word to any human as long as, in ceremonial vestments, he stood by the Lord's table and performed the sacrifice of the angelic bread over the Holy of Holies. Afterwards, he would either engage in some manual labor or, in the company of his beloved chaplains, he would taste spiritual food from the Holy Scriptures.⁹ It was with such leisure that he occupied his long days, with such toils that he passed all his nights. Such were his habits, such his activity, such was his life's goal.¹⁰

⁹ A schedule based on St. Benedict, *Regula* 48.1 (*certis temporibus occupari debent fratres in labore manuum, certis iterum horis in lectione diuina* "the brothers should be occupied at set times in manual labor, and again at other set times in divine reading," tr. Venarde, 161). For the the *Rule of St. Benedict* as an essential element informing descriptions of ascetic virtues in episcopal hagiography, see Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 257–62.

¹⁰ A similar expression (*meta uiuendi*) occurs in Macrobius, *Comm. in somm. Scip.* 1.6.76.

<11.> Post completorium cum solitis orationibus incubaret, quidam pauper, cui nil preter uitam et membra impius latro reliquit, miseris ululatibus templi ostia pulsat. Quo audito cum de erogatis opibus nulla superfuissent, cepit curiosius excogitare, quid illi dare posset; et cum nil aliud occurreret, ingressus cubile, quod solum habuit, tulit inde sericum puluinar, cui abstrahens purpuram, plumas circumquaque per domum respersit; deinde ad iacentis mendici clamorem recurrens, inanem purpuram in rugas compressit^a et per coeuntium ianuarum foramina emittens, hoc fertili dono manum pauperis accumulauit. Cuius furti^{b,1} auctor cum lateret, cumque Myzl,^{c,2} domus suę camerarius, hoc inter pueros asperius requirere uellet, compescuit eum dicens: “Nequaquam inimicus homo hoc fecit, sed qui indigens erat, forsitan pro explenda necessitate assumpsit.”

<12.> Inter hæc sancta opera non desierat pluerе predicationis uerba³; nec sibi solum bonus, nec nisi cum pluribus cęlestium gaudiorum particeps esse uoluit; *singulis compassione proximus, et pre cunctis in contemplatione suspensus*⁴; sic *alta petens*, ut *proximorum*

^a compressit *Ls*: complicuit *LLAqRv₁Rv₂*

^b furti *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*: facti *LLAqRv₁Rv₂Gn*

^c Myzl *LsLl*: Mrzl *Aq*, om. *Rv₁Rv₂*, uillico *ZfLr*, willico *WbKn₁Ad₂*, uuillico *Ad₁Cc₁Cc₂Cc₃*, williconā *HkZw₁Zw₂Ml*

¹ With Karwaśińska, I prefer to follow those mss. which refer to Adalbert's actions as theft (*furtum*), not simply as “this deed” (*facti*).

² Myzl, Adalbert's *camerarius*, was head of the financial administration of the bishop; his name is preserved only in two of the earliest mss. of the Ottonian version of the *Life* (*Ls* and *Ll*; cf. also the form *Mrzl* in *Aq*), in all the others being replaced by that of Vělich (*Willico*), who is styled *praepositus*, i.e., provost or vidame, head of Adalbert's episcopal administration. It has been suggested, however, that Myzl is just the Slavic translation of the proper name Vělich, which is of Germanic origin (from the Middle High German *willec* / *willic* “willing, docile, amenable”). In this case, Vělich and Myzl would be the same person, i.e., the *praepositus* of the Cathedral of St. Vitus in Prague (see R. Nový, ed., *Slavníkovci*, 146, n. 17 and 452).

11. After the compline, while he was, as usual, immersed in prayer, some poor man, to whom a merciless robber had left nothing save his bare life and limbs, knocked on the doors of the church wailing wretchedly. When Adalbert heard him, as he had nothing left of the things which he had given away as charity, he began considering very carefully what else he could give that man. And since nothing else came to mind, he went into his bedroom, got hold of his silk cushion—the only thing he had—and removed its purple covering, thereby scattering the feathers all around the house. Then, rushing to the imploring cries of the beggar who lay [on his doorstep], he crumpled the useless purple and, holding it out through the doors ajar, with this exuberant gift he packed the hands of that poor man full. When the perpetrator of this theft¹ could not be found, and as Myzl,² the treasurer of his household, was going to investigate this matter quite strictly among the servants, he prevented him from doing so, saying: “It was no evil-minded man who did this, but it may be that some needy person took it to meet their needs.”

12. Amidst such holy deeds, he had not ceased to pour down the words of his predication³; he wished neither to be righteous for his own sake, nor partake of heavenly joys if he could not share them with many others. [He was] *close to everyone else in his compassion, yet uplifted in contemplation above all the others*,⁴ in such

³ The imagery used here to praise Adalbert's preaching may go back to Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 27.8, where church leaders who instruct their flock only by personal example, not by eloquent sermons are likened to stars shining bright in times of drought; they may act as guiding lights, yet bring down no refreshing showers to their audience. Jana Zachová and Dušan Třeštík have claimed Adalbert's authorship for a sermon preserved in the ms. 217 of the library of the abbey of Heiligenkreuz; for a discussion of this text and a critical edition, see their article “Adhortace *De ammonitione ad presbiteros*: a biskup Vojtěch,” *Česky časopis historický* 99.2 (2001): 279–92. If accurate, this attribution would offer us a precious, if feeble echo of Adalbert's homiletic production, to which Canaparius is alluding here.

⁴ Gregory the Great, *Reg. past.* 2.1 and 5 (*singulis compassione proximus, prae cunctis contemplatione suspensus*) and *Ep.* 1.24.

*infirmis non despiceret; sic infirmis proximorum congruens, ut alta petere non desisteret*¹; sic *discretionis artem seruare* nouit, ut esset in eo *et iuste consulens misericordia et pie seuiens disciplina*.² Ipsi autem contraria uoluntate ad carnalem sensum³ lapsi, bonum pastorem sequi noluerunt. *Nouo* quippe *modo* cum essent *cēlestibus bonis pasti*, peccatorum *fecibus explebantur*.⁴ Ille spiritalibus adiutoriis *caulas*^a suas *premunire*⁵ instat; illi destruere quod fecit diabolicis inpugnationibus festinant. Ille a captiuitate dēmonum et uitiorum populum liberare parat; illi eo arcius se in omni peccato obligant. Vidit ergo episcopus, quia diuinis legibus contraire omnibus modis festinarunt; uidit, quod obdurato corde⁶ in Deum grandia quęque et noua scelera adimplere meditantur; uidit *optime gubernationis* frustrari *lacertos*,⁷ plus etiam obesse sibi quam populo prodesse. Deflet ergo peccatum et amarissimo luctu prosequitur dampna perditę gentis.⁸ Ad ultimum cogitat, melius esse relinquere quam in cęco et sponte pereunte populo operam perdere. Quod maxime de tribus causis actum esse dicunt, qui huius rei ordinem ipso narrante compererunt. Prima et ueluti principalis causa propter plures uxores⁹ unius uiri; secunda propter detestanda coniugia clericorum. Tercia propter captiuos et mancipia christianorum, quos

^a *caulas* *LsRv*₁*Rv*₂; *caules* *LLAq*

¹ Gregory the Great, *ibid.*, 2.5 (*ne aut alta petens proximorum infirma despiciat at infirmis proximorum congruens appetere alta derelinquat*). *Alta petens* is a Vergilian tag; see, for instance, *Aen.* 5.507, 7.361, 9.561.

² Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 1.24 (*sed magna discretionis arte seruanda est et iuste consulens misericordia et pie saeuens disciplina*). The expression *discretionis arte* also appears in *Moralia in Iob* 7.30 and *Reg. past.* 3.37 while the last part of the quotation is found in *Moralia in Iob* 20.5 and *Reg. past.* 2.6.

³ Cf. Augustine, *In Iohn. ev. tract.* 18.5, *Serm.* 270 (PL vol. 38, col. 1238).

⁴ Cassiodorus, *Expos. Ps.* 16.284 (*illi saturabantur sordibus peccatorum, nouoque modo bonis caelestibus pasti, malorum faecibus explebantur*).

⁵ As recommended by Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 4.35 (*oportet nos caulas ouium ... uigilanti sollicitudine praemunire*).

⁶ The condemnation of Adalbert's reluctant flock is strengthened by the use of scriptural imagery; see, for instance, Deut. 15:7 (*non obdurabis cor tuum*), Ps. 94:8 (*nolite obdurare corda uestra*), and Hebr. 3:15, 4:17.

⁷ Augustine, *Enar. in Ps.* 31.2.4 (*lacertos optimae gubernationis*).

a way *aspiring to the things on high*, so as not to *despise the weaknesses of his closest*, in such a way *adapting himself to the weaknesses of his closest*, as not to be impeded in his aspiring to the things on high¹; he knew how *to practice the skill of discernment* in such a way as to be *both righteously merciful when admonishing and rightfully severe when chastising*.² But they [viz. his flock], having lapsed into a carnal understanding³ [of things] because of their contrary disposition, had no wish to follow their good shepherd. For, indeed, even as *they were being nourished with heavenly goods, they kept gorging themselves on the dregs of sin in a way that was unheard of*.⁴ He, through all sorts of spiritual assistance pressed on with his efforts *to fortify his sheepfold*⁵; they, however, through all kinds of diabolical attacks rushed to destroy whatever he had accomplished. He planned to set his flock free from the captivity of the demons and of the vices; they, however, never ceased to bind themselves all the more tightly in the bounds of every possible sin. Finally, the bishop saw that they were eager to go against the divine laws in every way they could. He saw that, their hearts hardened,⁶ they did nothing but rack their brains how to commit some great and new-fangled crimes against God. He saw that all *the strength* he devoted to this *excellent guidance* was being wasted,⁷ and he was in fact doing more harm to himself than good to his flock. He, therefore, decried their sin and, lamenting most bitterly, watched the failures of that doomed nation.⁸ In the end, he decided it was better for him to leave them rather than waste his efforts on such blind and self-destructive people. Those who had heard the account of these events from his own mouth say that there were three main reasons why things turned out this way. The first and rather the most important reason was polygamy⁹; second, the detestable marriages of the clergy; third, the captives and slaves from among the Christians bought by a Jewish merchant with ac-

⁸ Cf. Soph. 2:5 (*gens perditorum*).

⁹ Or, rather, the keeping of concubines, especially by the noblemen, as suggested by Petr Charvát, *Boleslav II: Sjednotitel českého státu* [Boleslav II: Unifier of the Czech state] (Prague: Vyšehrad, 2004), 92–100.

mercator Iudeus infelici emerat auro emptosque tot episcopus redimere non potuit.¹ In somnis quoque apparuit ei Dominus, suscitans eum et de lento sopore surgere iubens.^a Inquit ille: “Quis es tu *tam imperiosę auctoritatis*² aut cuius rei gratia quietem frangere iubes?” Respondit: “Ego sum Ihesus Christus qui uenditus sum; et ecce iterum uendor Iudeis, et tu adhuc stertis?” Ille expergefactus, secum tacito corde pertractat, quidnam hæc uisio uellet. Admouet soluendę questiunculę socium elegantem uirum Williconem.³ Hic honore prepositurę preerat ceteris, hunc uir sanctissimus omnium consiliorum suorum participem fecit. Cui cum suam uisionem exponeret, respondit in propria uerba et cogitationes ille mitissimus heros: “Quando uenduntur christiani Iudeis, hanc uenditionem patitur ipse Christus, cuius nos *corpus et membra*,⁴ a quo *mouemur et sumus*.⁵

<13.> Hęc sanctus episcopus eşua lance^{b, 6} perpendens et ab imo cordis longa suspiria trahens,⁷ amplius stare^c timuit; sicque consilio doloris accepto, uenit Romam et apostolicę sedis pontificem,⁸ quid in tanto suo populique discrimine foret acturus, gemebundis questionibus inquirat. “Commendatus,” inquit, “mihi grex audire me non

^a iubens *Ls Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; iussus *LLAqRv₁Rv₂*

^b lance *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; mente *LLAqRv₁Rv₂*

^c stare *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃* *plurimique codd. red. Ottonianae*; ista *LsLLAqRv₁Rv₂*

¹ Prague was an important center of the slave trade in tenth-century Europe; see Dušan Třeštík, “‘Eine große Stadt der Slawen namens Prag’ (Staaten und Sklawen in Mitteleuropa im 10. Jahrhundert),” in *Boleslav II: Der tschechische Staat um das Jahr 1000. Internationales Symposium, Praha 9.-10. Februar 1999*, ed. Petr Sommer, 93–138 (Prague: Filosofia, 2001), and, for a wider context, Ahmad Nazmi, *Commercial Relations between Arabs and Slavs, 9th–11th Centuries* (Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Akademickie DIALOG, 1998).

² Cf. Boethius, *Consol.* 1.1 (*mulier tam imperiosae auctoritatis*).

³ Vělich (see p. 122, n. 2) was the *praepositus* of the Prague cathedral and a close friend of Adalbert. Bruno of Querfurt, who seems to have known one or more letters written by Vělich about the life of Adalbert, reports that the once *praepositus* spent his last days in the Benedictine abbey at Monte Cassino; see Bruno’s *Vita s. Adalberti* 8 (ed. Karwasińska, 7).

cursed gold and whom not even such an important bishop could ransom.¹ Even in his dreams the Lord appeared to him, waking him and urging him to rise from his tardy sleep. Adalbert asked: “Who are you to give *such peremptory orders*² and why do you want me to break my peaceful sleep?” [The other] answered: “I am Jesus Christ, who have been sold; and, look, I am being sold once more to the Jews, and you are still snoring away!” Awakened suddenly, Adalbert pondered in his heart, in silence, what the meaning of this vision might be. He called upon his companion Vělich,³ an excellent man, to help him solve this little riddle. Because of his office of *praepositus*, he ranked above all the others; it was with him that our most holy man shared all his thoughts and projects. When Adalbert told him his vision, that most gentle hero replied in his own words and with his own ideas: when Christians are sold to the Jews, Christ himself becomes the object of this sale, whose *body and limbs* we are,⁴ through whom *we move and live*.⁵

13. The holy bishop, having weighed these things on scales balanced,⁶ and sighing deeply, from the depth of his heart,⁷ was afraid to remain there any longer. And thus, having made this painful decision, he came to Rome and approached the pontiff of the apostolic see⁸ with groaning supplications, as to what he was to do in this moment of great crisis both for himself and for his congregation. “The

⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. 12:27 (*uos autem estis corpus Christi et membra de membro*); Eph. 5:30 (*quia membra sumus corporis eius*).

⁵ Cf. Act. 17:18 (*in ipso enim uiuimus et mouemur et sumus*).

⁶ “Impartially” (*equa mente*) in mss. *LLRv Rv₂*. While the phrase *aequa mente perpendere* “to weigh impartially” does not seem to be attested elsewhere, the variant *aequa lance perpendere* “to weigh on scales balanced,” which I prefer to retain here, was probably inspired by Augustine, the only other author to use it; see, for instance, *Ep.* 186.10 (*aequa lance perpendit, aequa lance perpensio, aequa lance perpenditur*).

⁷ The phrase *ab imo cordis longa suspiria trahens* may be inspired by a very similar expression in Evagrius’s Latin version of the *Vita Antonii* 10 (*ex intimo pectore trahens longa suspiria*); see Pascal Bertrand, “Die Evagriusübersetzung der *Vita Antonii*. Rezeption—Überlieferung—Edition. Unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der *Vitas Patrum*-Tradition,” (PhD Diss., University of Utrecht, 2006), 34.

⁸ Pope John XV (985–996).

uult *nec capit sermo meus*¹ in illis, in quorum pectoribus dēmoniace seruitutis imperia regnant; et ea regio est, ubi pro iusto uirtus corporis, pro lege uoluptas dominatur.” Ad hęc apostolicus: “Fili,” inquit, “quia te sequi nolunt, fuge quod nocet. Opere precium est enim, si cum aliis fructum agere non potes, uel te ipsum non perdas.² Quare meo consilio arripe tibi ocia contemplationis et sede inter eos, qui *uitam quietam in studiis dulcibus et salubribus agunt*.”³ Hac itaque uelut diuina responsione animatus, cum ad futura sanctorum gaudia ardenti desiderio anhelaret, statuit secum natale solum⁴ notioresque populos derelinquere. Vult pro Domino peregre proficisci⁵ atque uelut *sub alio sole*⁶ *inopem ducere senectam*.⁷ *Omnia dura et aspera*⁸ pro dilecto Ihesu dulcia sibi uisa sunt; pro diuite Christo⁹ *angustam pauperiem pati*¹⁰ non tam labor quam ingens amor erat. Post hanc suę mentis deliberationem argentum pauperibus large distribuens, episcopalem cameram euacuat.

<14.> Erat autem ipsis diebus Romę imperatrix augusta Theuphanu,¹¹ mater eius qui modo regnat tercius et Deo iuuante maximus Otto,^{a, 12} cui *pia cura*¹³ circa pauperes, cum summatibus uiris et

^a maximus *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃; om. LLaqRv₂*

¹ John 8:37.

² Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dial.* 2.3.5 and 2.3.10–11 for similar advice.

³ Augustine, *In Iob. Evang. tract.* 57.3 (*in eis qui ... uitam quietam in studiis dulcibus et salubribus agunt sancta delicietur ecclesia*).

⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto* 1.3.35.

⁵ Or simply “go abroad.”

⁶ Lucan, *Phars.* 5.535.

⁷ Literally, “under a foreign sun” (*sub alio sole*), a Vergilian tag (cf. *Georg.* 2.511: *atque alio patriam quaerunt sub sole iacentem*).

⁸ St. Benedict, *Regula* 58.8 (*praedicentur ei omnia dura et aspera per quae itur ad Deum* “All the difficult and harsh things involved in the approach to God should be made clear to [the one who wishes to enter the monastery],” tr. Venarde, 187).

⁹ The image of the “rich Christ” goes back to 2 Cor. 8:9 (*egenus factus est cum esset diues*).

¹⁰ A highly elaborated rhetorical passage, peppered with syntactic parallelisms, alliterations (*omnia, dura, aspera, dulcia, uisa*), word-plays (*labor-amor*) and a learned classical allusion already noted in Karwasińska’s edition (*angustam pauperiem pati* is taken from Horace, *Carm.* 3.2.1).

flock entrusted to me," he said, "does not wish to listen to me, *nor is there any place for my word in them*,¹ whose hearts are ruled by the commandments of submission to the devil. And that is a country where strong fists rule instead of justice, and concupiscence instead of the law!" In reply to this, the apostolic Father said: "My son, since they show no desire to follow you, flee what is harmful to you! For it is worth the trouble, if you cannot be of any benefit to others, to try at least not to bring any damage to yourself."² Therefore, take my advice and embrace the leisure suitable to contemplation, and settle among those *who lead a tranquil life engaged in pleasant and beneficial pursuits*!"³ Then, emboldened by this as if by a divine oracle, since he was burning with an ardent desire for the delights reserved for the saints, Adalbert made up his mind to leave his native land⁴ and the people he knew so well. He wished to go on pilgrimage⁵ for the sake of the Lord and, so to speak, *to live an impoverished old age under foreign skies*.⁷ For the sake of his beloved Jesus, *all* that was *harsh and difficult*⁸ seemed to him delightful; for him, it was not so much an affliction, but a [proof of] immense affection *to endure*, for the sake of the rich Christ,⁹ *constraining poverty*.¹⁰ After having deliberated like this with himself, he emptied the treasury of the bishopric, generously distributing silver to the poor.

14. Now, in those days, the august empress Theophano¹¹ was in Rome, the mother of the present ruler, Otto the Third and, with God's help, the Greatest¹²; she showed *charitable concern*¹³ for the

¹¹ Empress Theophano (b. ca. 960), niece of the Byzantine Emperor John I Tzimis-kes, wife of Otto II, and mother of Emperor Otto III, stayed in Rome from late November 989 till March 990; Adalbert's meeting with her must have taken place at this time. She died on 15 June 991.

¹² Otto III (b. June/July 980–d. 24 January 1002), German king (since 983) and Roman Emperor (crowned on 21 May 996). A group of mss. (*LLAqRv*₂) omit the epithet *maximus* "greatest"; this suggests that the version of the *Life* they contain was possibly revised at some point after the emperor's death so as to tone down the encomiastic references to Otto III in Canaparius's original. There are no signs of such revision in this passage in the second Aventine and the Montecassino versions of the *Life* (see Karwasińska's ed., 57 and 77).

¹³ Ovid, *Amores* 2.16.47.

bene querentibus Christum sincerissima dilectio^a fuit. Hęc com-
perto quod gratia orationis exulans, ille usque ad Iherosolimam
pergere uellet, clam uenire illum fecit et tantum ei pondus auri
pro amore Christi contulit, quantum deo dilectus Gaudentius¹
uiri sancti germanus uix in sinu suo leuare potuit.^{b, 2} Quod eadem
nocte consequenti pauperibus fideliter diuisit atque ab uno dena-
rio totum expendens, nil sibi retinuit.³ Deinde pueris remissis in
patriam, mutat habitum, et asinum pro portandis oneribus mer-
catus, cum tribus numero fratribus socium iter assumpsit. Habens
itaque animum Iherosolimis sepulcrum Domini uisere, uenit ad
Montem Cassinum, in cuius cacumine monasterium⁴ sedet, quod
in hoc loco primus construere cepit beatissimus pater, monacho-
rum flos et gloria, Benedictus; ibi quoque, ut Gregorii mellifluum
os sonat,⁵ ultimam partem uite deguit et uerę religionis exemplar
omnibus, qui in Christo pie uiuere uolunt,⁷ digito conscripsit.⁶ Hic

^a sincerissima dilectio *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*: sincerissimus amor *LLAqRv2*

^b et tantum ei auri pondus pro amore Christi contulit, quantum deo dilectus Gau-
dentius uiri sancti germanus uix in sinu suo leuare potuit *LLRv₂* e. t. e. pondus auri *etc.*
Aq: et argenti tantum, quantum iuuenis Gaudentius uix leuare posset pro uiatico acci-
pere fecit *AdLrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*, magnamque census copiam in usus pauperum distribu-
endam ipsi de suo dari iussit gazophilatio *adscr. m. XII saec. poster. in marg. super. Ls*

¹ Gaudentius, the younger brother of St. Adalbert, at this time would have been
nineteen or twenty years old.

² There is considerable disagreement at this point about the details of this donation
among the surviving textual witnesses. I have printed and translated the text as given
by mss. *Ll*, *Rv₂*, and, with insignificant variation, *Aq*. This mentions both gold and
silver, which were given by the empress *pro amore Christi* ("for Christ's sake"). The
shorter text printed by Karwasińska in her critical ed., 20, confirmed by the second
Aventine and the Monte Cassino versions, speaks of "so much silver that young Gau-
dentius hardly could lift it" and specifies that this was meant to cover their expenses on
the journey (*pro viatico*). In contrast to these accounts, ms. *Ls* omitted the donation
altogether; this (probably accidental) omission was then corrected in the upper mar-
gin of the ms. by a scribal hand similar to that of the original copyist. This (possibly
contemporary) addition runs as follows: "she ordered that a great amount of money
from her own purse should be given to him to be distributed among the poor."

³ Such impulsive acts of generosity and otherworldly disregard for the property of
the church and of other people, reported with full approval by Canaparius, were
judged more severely by others, who knew Adalbert during his stay in Rome as a
monk at the abbey of SS. Boniface and Alexius. The anonymous author of the *Mir-*

poor and nurtured a most sincere affection for noble men who were properly seeking Christ. When she learned that Adalbert, in his self-imposed exile, wished to proceed further to Jerusalem in order to pray [there], she had him come to her in secret and, for Christ's sake, gave him so much gold that Gaudentius,¹ the brother of our holy man, whom God loved dearly, could barely carry it in his purse.² This money, [the saint] piously distributed to the poor the very same night, spending everything up to the last penny and keeping nothing for himself.³ Then, having sent his servants back to their homeland, he changed his clothes, bought an ass to carry his things, and took to the road together with three brothers for companions. And so, with the intention to visit the Sepulcher of the Lord in Jerusalem, he came to Monte Cassino, on the top of which lies the monastery⁴ which our most holy father Benedict, the flower and glory of the monks, first started to build in that place. It was in this same place that, as we hear from the mellifluous words of Gregory,⁵ he spent the later part of his life and traced with his own finger⁶ a model for *all those who want to live a godly life in Christ*.⁷ Here, although he was not, at that time, properly recognized, nev-

acles of St. Alexius [BHL 299], composed probably within that monastic community after the death of Otto III in 1004 and before 1012, reports in a censorious tone an incident which involved Adalbert and a precious gift of the emperor, his ceremonial mantle embroidered with a representation of the Apocalypse in gold thread, which was meant to cover the altar of St. Alexius. "Abba Adalbert, on whom I should really not waste any time now, shameless (*impudens*) as he was, thought nothing of this gift and pawned it away with some people, not for some need of the monastery, but out of his own profligacy (*nequitia*); it remained with them until his days were deservedly cut short in retribution for his offense (*scelere*)" (*Miracula S. Alexii*, ed. G. H. Pertz, MGH SS 4, 620).

⁴ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Dialogi* 2.8.10.

⁵ Gregory the Great in his *Life* of St. Benedict, i.e., the second book of his *Dialogi*. On Benedict and the monastic tradition he inspired, see James G. Clark, *The Benedictines in the Middle Ages* (Woodbridge, UK: The Boydell Press, 2011), esp. 7–12.

⁶ Lit. "wrote with his own finger" (*digito conscripsit*); the author's use of an expression reminiscent of Exod. 31:18 suggests that in this passage an implicit comparison of St. Benedict's monastic rule with the Ten Commandments, "written with the finger of God" (*scriptas digito Dei*), was probably intended.

⁷ Cf. 2 Tim. 3:12 (*et omnes qui pie uolunt uiuere in Christo Iesu*).

tum licet agnitus non fuisset, tamen Domino, quod futurum erat, prouidente, honorifice hospitio susceptus est. Post paucos dies, cum iter ceptum agere uellet, accessit ad eum illius loci abbas,¹ et cum ipso admodum illustres uiri, hæc consilia uelut ab diuina arte ferentes. “Via,” inquit, “quam acquirendę beatitudinis causa cepisti, longe est a recta uia et ab illa, *quę ducit ad uitam*.² Perplexitatibus quippe fugacis seculi carere magni animi est, sed cotidie loca noua mutare minus laudabile est. Ut enim hiberni maris inconstantia malum nautis, ita uagatio de loco in locum periculum suis sequacibus minatur. Stare autem loco et supernis usibus eo liberius frui non nos, sed precepta maiorum uirorumque forcium exempla tibi dicunt.”³ Quod consilium prouidus heros⁴ non secus quam diuinitus datum accipiens, ibi finem laboris et errabundę uagacionis ponere cogitauit.

<15.> Haec eo cogitante, frustratur eum Deus, uolens dilecti hominis desideria aliquantulum dilatare, ut quanto nunc amara primum et labore parta, tanto post dulciora fuissent. Nam cum ibi monastica lege uiuere uellet cumque a minimo usque ad maximum omnes hoc libentissime uellent, repente attonitas terribile uerbum transuerberat aures.⁵ “Et bonum est,” inquit, “ut stes nobiscum. Hic monachicum induas habitum; hic Deo placitum uiuere ducas; nostras quoque ecclesias nouo opere constructas, cum sis episcopus, sacrare potes.”⁶ Quo audito ille heros, iam dudum intra se

¹ Manso, abbot of Monte Cassino between 986 and 996.

² Matt. 7:14.

³ See Jean-Marie Sansterre, “Attitudes à l’égard de l’errance monastique en Occident du VI^e au XI^e siècles,” in *Voyages et voyageurs à Byzance et en Occident du VI^e au XI^e siècles*, ed. Alain Dierkens and Jean-Marie Sansterre (Geneva: Droz, 2000), 215–34.

⁴ Cf. Statius, *Achill.* 1.698, *Theb.* 4.197, 8.681.

⁵ Cf. Statius, *Theb.* 1.590, 4.664, 7.227; Lucan, *Phars.* 7.24 (*nullas tuba uerberet aures*); *Waltharius* 17 (*fama uolans pauidi regis transuerberat aures*); Walahfrid Strabo, *Visio Wettini* 43 (*tanti fama uiri regales uerberat aures*).

ertheless, as God foresaw all that was to happen, Adalbert was offered a dignified welcome in the guesthouse. And a few days later, when he wanted to continue his journey, the abbot of that place¹ came to him accompanied by some very illustrious people, and offered him the following (heaven-sent, one may say) counsel: "The way on which you started," they said, "in pursuit of sanctity is far removed from *the right road* and from the one *that leads to life*."² For, indeed, it takes great courage to have no share in the troubles of this transient world, yet changing one's dwelling with a new one every day is not quite commendable. Because, you see, in the same way as the sea, restless in wintertime, is a danger to the sailors, roaming from place to place also puts in danger the ones who practice this. It is not we who should convince you to stay put in one place and so enjoy with even greater liberty the heavenly paths, but rather the teachings of the elders and the mighty men of old by their example."³ This advice our farsighted hero⁴ accepted as nothing less than divinely given, and thought that he should put an end there to his toils and to his endless wandering.

15. As such thoughts were occupying his mind, God frustrated his [hopes], wishing to postpone for a little while the fulfillment of this excellent man's desires, so that those things which seemed bitter at first and laboriously achieved should in the end turn out all the more delightful. In fact, as he was ready to start his life there according to the monastic rule, and everybody, from the least until the most important, quite readily agreed to this, all of a sudden some terrifying words fell like a blow on his stunned ears.⁵ "It is proper," they said, "that you should remain with us. Take the monastic habit here! You will, no doubt, see that God will be pleased by your living here! You are a bishop, so you can even consecrate our newly-built churches!"⁶ When our hero heard this, as he had

⁶ This discourse was reproduced, almost verbatim, in the monastic chronicle of Monte Cassino by Leo Marsicanus with one significant addition: Adalbert's unnamed interlocutor also asked him to consecrate clerics from the monastery (*nostros clericos ad gradus ecclesiasticos promovere*). See *Cronica monasterii Cassinensis* 2.17 (MGH SS 34, ed. H. Hoffmann, 200–1).

turbatus,^{a, 1} hęc ira dictante² reddidit: “Vtrum me hominem uel asinum putatis, ut cum amota filiorum cura episcopus esse desisterem, nunc sub nomine episcopi uestras domus consecrarem?”³ Nec mora iuit deorsum per montis conuexa et quasi duorum dierum itinere acto, ad magnum uirum Nilum⁴ perrexit, cuius nobile meritum in monastico ordine uelut nouus lucifer in ętherio axe refulget⁵; sub quo etiam duce ac diuinę artis magistro discipulorum plurima manus Deo militabat. Hi uero omnes propriis manibus uictum querentes, secundum regulam sancti patris nostri Basilii⁶ cęlestibus uestigiis innituntur. Hac fama ductus, aggreditur sanctum senem et prouolutus genibus diu profudit lacrimas, quęrens ab illo responsa et amica solacia. Quem intuitus domnus abbas Nilus, cuius meriti in conspectu Domini uiueret, iam in primo sermone cognouit; qui et usque hodie ita amore Christi feruentem non meminit se uidisse aliquem iuuenem.⁷ “Et recepissem te,” in-

^a iam dudum intra se turbatus *LsLLAqRv*₂; uelut qui hiulco fulmine ictus certa loqui nescit *Ad₁Cc₁Cc₂Cc₃*, u. q. hiulco *etc. Lr*

¹ Here the Italian branch of the manuscript tradition (*Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*) reads a very rare poetic phrase that certainly imitates Statius, *Theb.* 1.26 (*hiulci fulmini expers*); Adalbert replies “like someone hit by some sky-rending lightning (*hiulco fulmine ictus*), who cannot make much sense at first.” Although I have not retained this expression in the text, I consider it quite likely that it goes back to Canaparius’s original version of the *Vita*, the lost *X*, rather than being an addition of a later Italian scribe. As it can easily be seen from the wealth of such quotations inventoried in the notes to the present translation, the author of the original text of the *Life* was quite fond of obscure poetic diction, unlike the scribes of the German branch of the manuscript tradition (*LsLLAqRv*₂), who simplified the difficult text to a trite *iam dudum intra se turbatus* “as he had long been upset,” although no apparent reason is offered in the text to justify such feelings.

² Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 5.316 (*atque haec ira dictante profatur*).

³ Such irreverent language could not survive the later elaborations of the *Vita*; it was quite soon toned down or reworked into an appropriate expression of monastic humility; see the various versions discussed by Karwasińska in the apparatus of her critical ed., 22, where she remarks that what may have been Canaparius’s original version survives only in the mss. preserved in Austria. Various signs of censorship are obvious even in the earliest mss. of the Ottonian version (the German branch), less so in the Italian (Aventine) version (see *ibid.*, 58, apparatus ad loc.), and, as it can be easily

long been upset,¹ driven by anger,² he snapped back at them: "What do you take me for: a man or an ass? I have abandoned the care of my [spiritual] sons; so, I am no longer a bishop! And now you would have me consecrate your churches as a bishop?!"³ Not a moment to lose; he started down the slopes of the mountain and, after two days or so on the road, he came to Nilus,⁴ that great man whose noble merits shine as brightly within the monastic order as a new morning star on the vault of the sky⁵; with him as a leader and also as a teacher of the heavenly craft, a most numerous company of disciples stood in God's service. And all of these, earning their living through [the work] of their hands, walk in the heavenly footsteps according to the rule of our holy father Basil.⁶ Adalbert, drawn by their fame, approached the saintly old man and, down on his knees, all in tears for a long time, he asked him for answers and friendly shelter. When the abbot, lord Nilus, laid eyes on him, he knew from his very first words how great his merits were before the Lord; even to this day he cannot recall having seen any other young man burning so ardently with the love of Christ.⁷ "Sweet child," he said, "of course I would welcome you by me if this ac-

guessed, they are most visible in the version elaborated at Monte Cassino (ibid., 77), where Adalbert, "as if troubled," rejects the suggestion of the monks with a bland: "Brother, I cannot possibly do what you suggest."

⁴ St. Nilus of Rossano (910–1004), one of the most prominent representatives of the Greek monastic tradition in southern Italy; he was the founder of the monastery at Grottaferrata. See Jean-Marie Sansterre, "Saint Nil de Rossano et le monachisme latin," *Bollettino della Badia greca di Grottaferrata* n.s. 45 (1991): 339–86.

⁵ Cf. Ovid, *Trist.* 1.2.45 and *Fast.* 3.367.

⁶ See St. Benedict, *Regula* 73.6, also referring in similarly encomiastic terms to the *Rule* of St. Basil, bishop of Caesarea (b. 329/333–d. 379), who is remembered as one of the founders of communal monasticism.

⁷ If this statement is not a mere rhetorical *flosculum*, the obvious implication is that Nilus of Rossano was still alive at the time of the writing, and that the author of the *Life* actually met him; see below for their possible exchange of letters. The Greek *Life of St. Nilus* [BHG 1370], written by a disciple of the saint soon after his death, makes no mention of a meeting between him and Adalbert.

quid, “dulcis nate, nisi hæc susceptio mihi meisque nocitura, tibi tamen minime esset profutura. Etenim, ut iste habitus et barbe pili testantur, non indigena, sed homo Grecus sum. Terra autem quantulacumque est, quam ego et mei incolunt,¹ illorum quos tu bene fugis,² propria est. Si, quod Deo uolente nimis uellem, una nobiscum cohabitaueris, tollunt illi, quæ sua sunt; ego cum caris filiis expellar totus, tu de incerta re plus incertus eris. Quin immo accipe patris consilium et unde digressus es, repete urbem Romam. Quo cum angelo bono te ducente perueneris, domnum abbatem Leonem³ nobis amicissimum ex nostra omniumque persona salutes, atque epistolam nostram feras in hæc uerba: ‘Aut hunc apud te, quod plus uolo, retine, aut si tibi difficile uidetur, ad abbatem sancti Sabæ⁴ mea uice commenda.’”

<16.> Hac spe confirmatus, regreditur ad sacratam arcem, urbium dominam et caput mundi, Romam.⁵ Inde, cui monasterio abbas Leo prefuisset, diligenter inquirens, ad sanctorum limina Bonifacii et Alexii⁶ monstrante populo perductus est. Postquam ingressus est et cum abbate *datur copia fandi*,⁷ obtulit salutationem et litteras,

¹ Valleluce, the property where Nilus was living at the time, belonged to the monastery of Monte Cassino. Nilus and his disciples spent some fifteen years (981–996) there, at the monastery of St. Michael.

² In the version of the *Life* copied in Monte Cassino (C) Nilus’s words were changed to their exact opposite: *quos tu non bene fugis* “whom you so misguidedly are trying to escape.” Nilus’s apprehension, as voiced in the text, may not have been unmotivated; his relations with Manso, the abbot of Monte Cassino and an aristocrat renowned for his less than ascetic behavior, were tense at the time of Adalbert’s visit; see Herbert Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, vol. 2.1 (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986), 10–1.

³ Since 981 Leo was abbot of the monastery of SS. Boniface and Alexius in Rome, then, from March 997, abbot of Nonantola, and finally, between 999 and 1001, archbishop of Ravenna. On his important place in Otto III’s entourage, see Knut Görich, *Otto III. Romanus Saxonicus et Italicus: Kaiserliche Rompolitik und sächsische Historiographie* (Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke Verlag, 1993), 216–23. Nilus’s preference for the monastery of SS. Boniface and Alexius as a final destination for Adalbert is revealing for the self-promoting agenda of Iohannes Canaparius.

⁴ St. Sabbas in Rome, the first and most important Greek monastic foundation in the city (yet here mentioned, quite tellingly, as just the second best); see Jean-Marie Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne*:

ceptance were not harmful to me and to those with me, while to you it would be not in the least useful! As you can tell from these clothes and from the hairs of my beard, I am Greek, not a native of this place. And the land—small though it is—on which I and my people are dwelling¹ belongs to those whom you are so rightly trying to escape.² If—as I would very much wish, if only God too had wished it so!—if you were to start living with us, they will certainly take back what is theirs. My dear sons and I will be thrown out; you, already in an uncertain situation, will find yourself in one that is even less certain. Therefore, please accept my fatherly advice and go back to where you came from, to the city of Rome. When you will arrive safely there, guided by your good angel, you should greet on the behalf of us all lord abbot Leo,³ our very good friend. And you will take to him a letter written by me as follows: ‘Either keep this man with you—which I would much prefer!—or, should you find this difficult, recommend him in my name also to the abbot of St. Sabbas.’”⁴

16. Encouraged by such hopes, Adalbert returned to Rome, the holy citadel, the mistress of all the cities and the capital of the world.⁵ There, enquiring carefully about the monastery where Leo was abbot, with help from people he made his way to the house of the Saints Boniface and Alexius.⁶ Once inside, when *he was given permission to speak* to the abbot,⁷ he conveyed the greetings and the letter

milieu du VI^e s.-fin du IX^e s., vol. 1 (Brussels: Académie royale de Belgique, 1982), 22–5.

⁵ Rome has been called *caput mundi* at least since Lucan, *Phars.* 2.655 and enjoyed special prominence during the reign of Otto III; see Althoff, *Otto III*, 72–89. This comes as a necessary corrective to earlier scholarship which overemphasized the Roman aspects of Otto's reign in the aftermath of Percy Ernst Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio. Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Erneuerungsgedankens vom Ende des Karolingischen Reiches bis zum Investiturstreit* (Leipzig and Berlin: Teubner, 1929).

⁶ This monastery, dedicated to St. Boniface of Tarsus and St. Alexius of Rome, housed monks who followed the Benedictine rule, although for a while, in its early period, it seems to have also been inhabited by Greek-speaking monks. See Sansterre, *Moines grecs*, vol. 1, 80–1 and 89.

⁷ Vergil, *Aen.* 1.250.

quas miserat abbas Nilus. Quibus perlectis, ut ex longo usu spiritum probare doctus erat, prius quam recepisset illum, arguta arte cuncta explorat. Primum cepit indignationem simulare, quis, qua mente^a preditus esset, auerso uultu indagare, *aspera et dura* illi *predicens*¹ cunctaque archana mentis eius sagaci ingenio perquirens. *Iustum* uero ac *tenacem propositi uirum*² nec dira^b hominis responsio frangere ualuit, nec uenientium temptaminum mine^c a semel arrepta uoluntate reuocare potuerunt. Abbas uero Leo, ubi non solum non auerti a suo proposito, sed etiam dira audiendo plus accendi uidit, accepturum se fore illum pollicetur. Statuit autem domnum apostolicum cum humiliato antistite prius conuenire, ut quicquid agendum foret, tanti patris sententia suorumque cardinalium consilia deliberarent. Post hæc, *rite peractis omnibus*,³ qua die Dominus discipulorum suorum pedes lauit ac linteo extersit,⁴ monachicum habitum sanctus ille episcopus accepit. Sabbato sancto, quando baptizati catecumini criminalibus uinclis soluuntur, soluta est⁵ et ipsi capite pendens cuculla.⁶ Hinc secundum regulæ morem fratrum numero addictus, querendum angusto calle^{d, 7} cepit ardentius cupere Christum. Duo autem ex fratribus, qui cum eo erant, iam dudum uidentes, quia se monachum facere uellet,^e non bene relicto clipeo⁸ fugam dederunt. Solus uero Gaudentius exem-

^a quis qua mente *LsAqRv₂Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; post quis *ad.* et *Ll*

^b dira *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; dura *LLAqRv₂*

^c temptaminum mine *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; t. in me *Lr*, uenientia temptamina *Ls*, t. ymbres *LLAqRv₂*

^d querendum angusto calle *Ls*; post querendum *ad.* quam *LLAqRv₂*, angusto calle querendum *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*

^e facere uellet *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; fecisset *LLAqRv₂*

¹ As recommended by St. Benedict, *Regula* 58 (*praedicentur ei omnia dura et aspera per quae itur ad Deum*).

² Horace, *Carm.* 3.3.1.

³ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Reg. past.* 4.

⁴ John 13:5.

⁵ *Cuculla* (also *cucullus*) here refers to a long, sleeveless, and probably hooded monastic vestment, worn by medieval monks as a visible sign of their profession.

which abbot Nilus had sent. After he read this, Leo, whom a long experience had taught well the discernment of spirits, started to try Adalbert thoroughly, with great cunning, before accepting him. At first, he started by putting on a show of indignation and, looking away from him, he began investigating what sort of man he was, what sort of mind he had; by *forewarning him of all the harsh and difficult things*,¹ the abbot tried to explore, with expert skill, the hidden corners of his mind. However, not even that man's stern reaction could break our *hero's righteous and tenacious determination*²; nor could the threat of temptations to come deter him from his already chosen path. Now, when abbot Leo saw that not only had he not discouraged him from his intention, but, what is more, by hearing all sorts of alarming things, he had become even more inflamed, he promised that he would accept him. He required, however, that the apostolic father should first meet with our humbled bishop in order to decide what was to be done, in accordance with the opinion of that important father and the advice of his cardinals. *After all this was done in good order*,³ our holy bishop donned the monastic habit on the same day when the Lord washed the feet of His disciples and wiped them with the towel.⁴ On Holy Saturday, when the catechumens through baptism are let loose from the bounds of sin, the cowl⁵ was also [placed] on his head and let to hang loose.⁶ Then, after he had been added to the number of the brothers in accordance with the custom of the rule, he began to long even more ardently for Christ, whom one should seek by walking the narrow path.⁷ Now, two of the brothers who were with him, seeing quite early on that he was bent on becoming a monk, abandoned their shields⁸—not quite

⁶ I have tried in translation to suggest the intricate wordplay in the original (*quando ... catecumini ... soluuntur – soluta est et ... cuculla*) emphasized by the disposition of the similar verbal forms.

⁷ A reference to a well-known New Testament passage (cf. Matt. 7:14: *quam angusta porta et arcta uia quae ducit ad uitam et pauci sunt qui inueniunt eam*), which was commonly quoted by late-antique and medieval Christian authors in an alternative version (*arcta et angusta uia est quae ducit ad uitam et pauci sunt qui eam inueniunt*). The monks were often identified as the very few capable of taking this "straight and narrow road" to salvation.

⁸ Cf. Horace, *Carm.* 2.7.9–10 (*fugam sensi relictā non bene parmula*).

plo constantis uiri remanens, cum beato uiro monachatum atque probabilem conuersationem consecutus est; qui etiam sibi carne et spiritu duplex germanus, et ab infantia semper fidissimus comes¹ adhesit.

<17.> Ipse uero omni oboedientia ac humilitate ambulans inter fratres, contra bella temptantium uiciorum intrepidus tyro accingitur. In cogitationibus suis ad humilem confessionem semper confugiens, quassatę mentis archana spiritalibus uiris pandere non cessauit.² Cessante uero temptationum imbre, *in nouam messem uirtutum* floruit ac post uiciorum uictoriam solito clarior eluxit.³ Processit ergo *ut lux splendens et creuit usque ad perfectum diem*.⁴ Oboedientia, qua donauit eum suus abbas, huiuscemodi erat, ut coquinę fratrum aque^a ministratorios^b usus humero apportaret, manibus quoque eorum lauandis aquam suppeditaret. Sic se cunctis fratribus seruire lętatur. Nec moratur interea emulus hostis, nunc aperto bello, nunc latentibus insidiis hominem Dei impugnaturus. Et cum testacea uasa nunc aqua, aliquando uino plena portaret, predictus hostis callido astu lapsus parat ac, ut confracta in partes spargerentur efficiens, sacri uiri faciem ingenti rubore perfudit. Haec dum multociens fierent, et ipse tot uicibus ueniam prostrato corpore peteret, tandem ultor eius confusionis respexit ad hęc negocia Deus. Nam una dierum, cum fratrum mensę apportaturus foret merum, offenso pede corruit ipse super uas, et uas ingenti cecidit super marmora lapsu. Audit a longe pater monasterii, audiunt cuncti fratres per ordinem, quomodo labitur ille heros, nescientes, quia hunc casum prosperrima aduersitas⁵

^a aque *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃; om. LsLLAqRv₂*

^b ministratorios *AqAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃; ministrarios Ls*

¹ Probably echoing the famous *fidus Achates* in Vergil, *Aen.* 6.158.

² This is a practice praised and recommended in St. Benedict's *Regula* 7.44.

³ Gregory the Great, *Dial.* 2.3.1 (*recedente igitur temptatione, uir Dei ... de uirtutum segete feracius fructum dedit*); cf. Cassiodorus, *Exp. Ps.* 6. 235 (*homo in noua messe uirtutum adolescat*).

⁴ Cf. Prov. 4:18 (*quasi lux splendens procedit et crescit usque ad perfectam diem*).

⁵ An identical expression (*aduersitas prosperrima*) in Cassiodorus, *Exp. Ps.* 34.125; mss. *LLAqRv₂* speak of a "happy ending" instead.

a worthy gesture!—and deserted the fight. Gaudentius alone, however, remained with the holy man, moved by Adalbert's exemplary consistency, and assumed the monastic profession and a praiseworthy lifestyle. He was twice Adalbert's twin, both in the flesh and in the spirit, and ever since their childhood he had stayed close to him as a most faithful companion.¹

17. And walking among the brothers with perfect obedience and humility, the fearless recruit girded himself for combats against the tempting vices. [When surrounded by] sinful thoughts, he always sought his refuge in humble confession, and never held back from laying bare the secret corners of his besieged mind to the spiritual fathers.² Then, when the showers of temptation were gone, he thrived, yielding *a fresh harvest of virtues*, and following his victory over the vices he would shine even more splendidly than usual.³ So, *like the light of dawn, he shone brighter and brighter till the full light of day*.⁴ The duty of obedience with which his abbot had entrusted him was to carry water jugs on his shoulders for the kitchen of the brothers and also to bring them water to wash their hands. In this way, he was glad to serve all the brothers. Meanwhile, the spiteful enemy did not sit idle, preparing to attack the man of God at some times through open warfare and at others through unsuspected traps. And at such times when Adalbert was carrying earthenware pitchers filled with water or, sometimes, with wine, the aforesaid enemy would engineer his fall through some devious trick, and, making some of them break and spill all over, he would make the saint's face burn red with shame. After this had happened many times and Adalbert had begged forgiveness every time by prostrating himself on the ground, at last God, the avenger of his defeats, turned His attention to these dealings. For one day, as he was about to bring some wine to the brothers' table, he stumbled and fell over the pitcher as this landed with a tremendous clash on the marble floor. From afar, the superior of the monastery heard and so did all the brothers one after the other how our hero fell down, yet they did not know that together with the fall came also a most beneficial trial.⁵ For the pitcher was found

comitaretur.^a Ita enim uas sanum et uini portio non minuta repperitur, ac si nulla facta foret ruina.

Item nobilis quedam femina¹ monasterium hoc causa orationis ingreditur; et cum caritatem ibi facere multa prece fratrum foret rogata,^b iam pleno triennio^{c, 2} panem se non gustasse profiteatur. Ille uero hunc abstinentię morem pro infirmitate adhesisse ei recognoscens, allato pane salutiferę signaculum crucis impressit; ac deinde prandenti matronę eum apponens: “In nomine Domini mei, Ihesu Christi, filia,” inquit, “manduca panem. Non licet tibi sanctam caritatem uiolare, pro eius enim amore hoc parum prandii accipere iussa es.” Ad hanc uocem credula mulier panis munera degustans, cum gratiarum actione regreditur in domum suam. Exhinc ergo communi cibo usa, rem nouam sibi contigisse ciuibus narrat; ac glorificat uox omnium Dominum Deum.

Nec pretereundum est, qualiter cuiusdam Iohannis filiam, qui nunc urbis prefectus esse dinoscitur,³ atrocissimus febrium dolor uexare cepit. Quam cum homo Dei sacratissima sua manu tangeret, omnis languor corporis eius imperio abscessit.

^a prosperrima aduersitas comitaretur *LsAdLrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; felix comitaretur euentus *LlAqRv₂*

^b multa prece fratrum foret rogata *AdLrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; iussa foret *LsLlAqRv₂*

^c pleno triennio *AdLrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; tribus annis *Aq*, septem annis *LsLlRv₂*

¹ In the later metrical *Life of Adalbert* (inc. *Quattuor immensi*), v. 600, this noble woman is called Constantia. For this text, see Karwasińska, “Studia krytyczne IV: Miejsce Versus de passione s. Adalberti w szeregu żywotów” [Critical studies IV: The place of the *Versus de passione s. Adalberti* among his *Lives*], in *Wzybór pism*, 159–89.

² Here I prefer the reading of the second redaction of the *Life* (B), confirmed by ms. *Aq*; all the other mss. of the “Ottonian” redaction claim that the woman had fasted for seven years instead of three.

³ Iohannes Glosa *qui vocatur de Benedicta* is attested as *praefectus urbis* in several documents issued by Otto III in 998–999, and his autograph signature is extant on a papal bull of May 998 (see Karwasińska’s critical edition, 26, n. 98). Soon after Otto III’s death, on 8 March 1002, Iohannes Glosa was among the high officials in whose

to be so without damage and the quantity of wine inside not in the least diminished as if there had been no accident whatsoever.

Again, some noble woman¹ came to this monastery for the sake of prayer and, as the brothers asked her to share their meal, she confessed that she had not tasted bread for three whole years.² But Adalbert realized that her embracing this type of abstinence was more likely a disease; he brought some bread, traced on it the sign of the saving cross and then, placing it before the lady who was eating, said: "In the name of my Lord, Jesus Christ, eat of this bread, daughter! You ought not to break [the rules] of sacred charity; you have been asked to accept this modest meal for the love of Christ!" Hearing these words, the pious woman partook of that gift of bread and, offering thanks, she returned to her home. Now, from then onwards she ate normal food, told the people of the city about the amazing thing that had happened to her, and all in one voice praised God our Lord.

It should also not be omitted how the daughter of a certain Iohannes, who is now well-known as the prefect of the city,³ started to be troubled by pain due to some very severe bouts of fever. When the man of God touched her with his most holy hand, at his command all the suffering of her body vanished without a trace.

presence Pope Sylvester II confirmed to Iohannes Canaparius, the abbot of SS. Alexius and Boniface, a papyrus charter purporting to represent a late antique document (undoubtedly a forgery) by which Euphemianus, St. Alexius's father, donated his properties on Mt. Aventine and elsewhere to the church of SS. Alexius and Boniface; see Alfredo Monaci, "Regesto dell'Abbazia di Sant'Alessio all'Aventino," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 27 (1904): 363–5 and *Regesta imperii* 2.5, *Papstregesten: 911–1024*, ed. Harald Zimmermann, 2nd ed. (Cologne: Böhlau, 1998), 290, no. 963. Such patronage would explain why he is the only lay person mentioned by name in Canaparius's *Life of Adalbert* as the beneficiary of one of the very few miracles ascribed to the saint. Both the second Aventine and the Monte Cassino version omit the story of the healing of Iohannes's daughter—an indication that they were composed after 1002, when Iohannes is last attested as urban prefect.

<18.> Archiepiscopus uero Magontinus¹ beati presulis gregem sine pastore^a conspiciens, misit legatos cum litteris, per quos domnum apostolicum² de sancti uiri reditu interpellat.³ Factaque est Rome synodus⁴ pro hac causa; et oritur utrimque litigium grande, ex una parte eorum, qui monachum perdere timuerunt, ex alia eorum, qui pastorem suum cum auctoritate quęsierunt. Cumque inuicem pugnantibus sententiis utraque pars diu decertaret, tandem dubiam nuntiorum primas uix promeruit uictoriam. Hic primas⁵ frater erat ducis,⁶ cuius terrę, qui exigebatur, episcopus prefuit. Tum apostolicus non tam uoluntate quam iure Dei permotus talia respondit: “Reddimus, quod iuste quęrunt, quamuis de bono patre iam degenerassent filii, et dabimus eum hac lege: Si audierint eum, teneant cum Dei benedictione^b faciantque sub eo *fructum centuplum*.⁷ Si autem a consueta iniquitate sua recedere nolunt, hic noster absque periculo sui capitis^c malorum consorcia declinet.” *Hęc ubi dicta dedit*,⁸ finita est synodus; et *soluta cętu*⁹ redierunt quisque in domum suam. Abscedunt legati, monachis tristibus, et reuehant hominem

^a sine pastore *AqRv₂StOsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; post pastore *ad. ire LsLl*

^b cum Dei benedictione *LsLrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; et pastorem habeant *LLAqRv₂*

^c sui capitis *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*; redeat et *LLAqRv₂*

¹ Archbishop Willigis of Mainz. See Ernst-Dieter Hehl, “Bedrängte und belohnte Bischöfe. Recht und Politik als Parameter bischöflichen Handelns bei Willigis von Mainz und andern,” in Ludger Körntgen and Dominik Waßenhoven, eds., *Patterns of Episcopal Power: Bishops in 10th and 11th Century Western Europe* (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2011), 63–86, and Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 422–4 on the tense relationship between Adalbert and his metropolitan.

² Pope John XV.

³ Bruno of Querfurt, *Vita s. Adalberti* 15 (ed. Karwasińska, 17–8) offers a slightly different sequence of events concerning this embassy; according to Bruno, a delegation made up of Radla, a priest and Adalbert’s colleague from his schooldays, and the monk Christian, duke Boleslav’s brother, was sent from Prague to Archbishop Willigis asking for Adalbert’s return. The archbishop of Mainz heard their case and sent them forward to Rome with a letter addressed to the pope, in which he supported their claims.

⁴ In the summer of 992. On this synod and the canon law issues involved in Adalbert’s desertion of his episcopal duties, see Ernst-Dieter Hehl, ed., *Die Konzilien Deutschlands und Reichsitaliens 916–1001*, vol. 2, MGH Conc. 6.2 (Hanover: Hahn-sche Buchhandlung, 2007), 473–6.

18. The archbishop of Mainz,¹ however, seeing the flock of the holy bishop without a shepherd, sent a delegation with a letter in which he enquired with the apostolic father² concerning the holy man's return.³ And a synod⁴ was convened in Rome in this matter; and great contestation arose from both sides, first on the side of those who were afraid of losing a monk, then on the side of those who rightly claimed their shepherd. For a long time both sides fought with mutually conflicting arguments, and at last the leader of the delegation with difficulty gained a rather dubious victory. This leader⁵ was the brother of the duke⁶ in whose country the man whom they were claiming exercised episcopal authority. Then the apostolic father, giving way not so much to his own inclination as to God's laws, gave them the following answer: "We grant them what they rightly ask, even though as sons they have already proved themselves unworthy of their good father. And we shall give him back to them on this condition: if they should pay heed to him, let them keep him with God's blessing and may they yield *a hundredfold crop*!⁷ If, however, they do not wish to abandon their usual iniquity, our man should shun the society of evildoers at no peril for himself." *When he uttered these words*,⁸ the synod came to an end and after *that gathering was dissolved*⁹ they all returned to their homes. The delegation, in great spirits and with enormous joy, started their return journey, taking back the man of God and leaving behind the dejected monks. After they had covered all the

⁵ The monk Christian, styled by Bruno *uir eloquens*, is probably the same individual as Strachkwaz (*Ztrachquaz*) mentioned in the *Chronicle* of Cosmas of Prague (*Chron.* 1.29–30). Some scholars also identify him with the author of the Latin *Life and Martyrdom of SS. Venceslas and Ludmila* commonly known as the *Legenda Christiani* [BHL 8825] and dedicated to Adalbert. See the English translation of Christian's "Prologue" in Marvin Kantor, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia: Sources and Commentary* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990), 165–6.

⁶ Duke Boleslav II.

⁷ Luke 8:8.

⁸ Vergil, *Aen.* 2.790.

⁹ Cf. Ovid, *Metamorph.* 13.887(*coetuque soluto discedunt*) and Lucan, *Phars.* 5.64 (*iam turba soluto arma petit coetu*).

Dei^a lēto animo ac cum magna exultatione. Cumque emenso itinere Pragm uenirent,¹ eunt obuiam ei^b omnis ētas et sexus et quasi cum ingenti gaudio^c acceperunt eum. Dant manus ac promittunt omnia, uelut qui de sua reuersione oppido gauderent, et secundum eius precepta priorem uitam plenissime emendare uellent.

<19.> Sed paulo post cēpit eos^d ignaua mollicies^{e, 2} et neglectis predicationibus *itur in omne nefas*.³ Veterum quippe uitiorum recordationibus preuenti in carnalem partem relabuntur,⁴ et perit labor pastoralis et diligens cura boni patris. Inter hęc luctuosum et miserabile crimen exoritur. Mulier cuiusdam nobilis cum clerico^f adulterasse publice arguitur. Quam cum more barbarico parentes dedecorati coniugis^g decapitare quērent, fugit illa *per celeres auras*,⁵ donec uoce et cursu usque ad optatum peruenerat episcopum. Volens autem de illorum manibus mulierem liberare, clausit eam in monasterio sanctimonialium, quod sub uocabulo et ueneratione sancti Georgii consecratum firmissimis mēnibus uallatur.⁶ Clauim uero ēcclesię custodi fideliter commendat credens, ut femina inter feminas solacia doloris et sub altaris defensione uitę securitatem haberet. Crimen quoque in se referre uoluit, ut se sceleris auctore

^a et reuehunt hominem Dei lēto animo *Ad₁Lr*: et *om.* *Cc₁Cc₂Cc₃*, et lēto animo *LsLlAqRv₂*

^b eunt obuiam ei *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*: erant ibi *in ras.* *Ls*, uenerunt ei obuiam *LLAqRv₂*

^c ingenti gaudio *AqRv₂*: *om.* *LsLl*, gaudio magno *Ad₁Lr*, magno gaudio *Cc₁Cc₂Cc₃*

^d eos *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*: eo *Ls*, eum *AqRv₂*, cum *Ll*

^e ignaua mollicies *LsRv₂Ad₁(p. c.)*: ignauia *LlCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*, ignara *Aq*

^f clerico *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*: clero *LsLlAqRv₂*

^g dedecorati coniugis *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃*: pro uiolato coniugio *LLAqRv₂*

¹ In autumn 992.

² I prefer *ignaua mollicies* given by *LsRv₂* against the various readings of the other mss.

³ Lucan, *Phars.* 4.243.

⁴ Cf. John Cassian, *Conl.* 1.17 (*ut mens uitiorum squalorem concreta in carnalem partem mox inclinetur et conruat*).

distance and reached Prague,¹ people of all ages and both sexes came out to meet him and received him seemingly with immense joy. They held out their hands and made all sorts of promises as if rejoiced by his return to the city and willing to reform their earlier conduct most thoroughly in accordance with his teaching.

19. Yet soon after that, they fell prey to sluggish indolence² and, turning a deaf ear to his preaching, *they proceeded to every sacrilege*.³ Indeed, overcome by the memory of their old vices, they lapsed back to carnal ways⁴ and their good father's pastoral efforts together with his diligent care went to waste. Amidst such things, a sorrowful and grievous crime was committed. The wife of some nobleman was rumored all around the town to have committed adultery with a cleric. When, according to the barbarian custom, her disgraced husband's relatives started searching for her in order to cut her head off, she ran *swiftly through the air*,⁵ until her voice and her step reached the bishop, in whom she had put all her hopes. Now, wishing to free the woman from the hands of those people, he hid her in the monastery of the consecrated virgins, which was dedicated to the name and the veneration of St. George and surrounded by very strong walls.⁶ He then entrusted the key of the church to a trusted keeper, believing that, surrounded by women, the woman would be comforted in her distress and, under the protection of the altar, her life would be safe. He even wanted to take the crime upon himself, so that by pretending that he was himself the perpetrator, he might

⁵ As in Vergil, *Aen.* 4.226; see also *Aen.* 4.270, 357.

⁶ A female convent dedicated to St. George built in the castle of Prague; Mlada-Maria, the sister of Duke Boleslav II was the first abbess of this Benedictine convent, founded in 973 close to the basilica dedicated to St. George, which had been built in 920. For a recent overview of Prague in Adalbert's time, see Jan Frolík, "Praha v době sv. Vojtěcha (982–997)" [Prague in the times of St. Adalbert], in Kurnatowska, ed., *Tropami*, 63–79, and idem, "The Basilica and Convent of St. George: The Oldest Extant Church Buildings," in *The History of Prague Castle* (Prague: Prague Castle Administration, 2003), 60–3.

magnum aliquid fieret, scilicet ut per poenitentiae fructus aut illam uitae seruaret, aut ambo simul iussi morentur. Qua uoluntate, quia martyrii coronam exposcens erat, adimpleret utique, quod uoluit, nisi eum prudenter domnus Uuillico¹ prohiberet. Impia manus interea absconſe mulieri ferrum necemque parans,² *armato milite*³ episcopale forum irruperunt. Querunt minis et contumacibus dictis episcopum, qui contra diuinum fas et legalia iura adulteram defendere uellet. Quod ille, diuinae contemplationis ocio uacans, ubi aure percepit, cum uelut diuinae noctis hora esset, dicto uersu fregit silentia et in quo clausus erat, exiuit de templo. Deinde qui secum erant fratribus pacis oscula libans⁴: “Bene ualete,” inquit, et pro me misero ferte pia uota Christo.” Inde totus ardore martyrii flagrans, non tardiore desiderio et cursu, quam qui fugit hostem, sponte uenit in hostem ac *medium agmen*⁵ intrepido gressu incens: “*Si me queritis*,” inquit, “*presto sum*.”⁶ Unus autem ex illis, cui cum bonis *semper leua uoluntas*⁷ erat, omnium ore talia respondit: “Cassa spes tenet te martyrii et nobilis *gloria leti*.”⁸ Errat pro certo haec sanctitas, quae nostrum uult fieri peccatum. Non inplebitur tua uoluntas, sed agitur aliquid, quod plus dolet; quia nisi haec meretrix nobis citius reddatur, habemus fratres tuos, in quorum uxoribus, prole et prediis hoc malum ulciscamur.”⁹ Haec dum furens Sclausus contra episcopum delatraret, ecce corruptus auro proditor

¹ The *praepositus* of Adalbert’s episcopal administration (see above, p. 126, n. 3).

² Cf. Ovid, *Metamorph.* 3.694 (*instrumenta necis ferrum ignesque parantur*).

³ Vergil, *Aen.* 2.18.

⁴ This Christian image is couched in the language of classical Latin poetry; see Statius, *Theb.* 10.61 (*oscula libant*); Vergil, *Aen.* 1.254 (*oscula libauit*).

⁵ Vergil, *Aen.* 2.407.

⁶ A conflation of John 18:8 (*si ergo me quaeritis*), i. e., Christ’s words to his pursuers at Gethsemane, and another frequent biblical expression (*praesto sum*); see, for instance, Gen. 37:14.

⁷ Statius, *Theb.* 2.16–17.

achieve something more important, namely, either that, as a reward for his penance, he may be able to save her life, or that they should be both condemned to death. He might have almost succeeded in having his wish come true—you see, by this he had in mind to obtain the crown of martyrdom—if lord Vělich,¹ quite wisely, had not prevented him from putting his plan into practice. Meanwhile, that godless handful of people, bent on putting the hidden woman to the sword and slaughtering her,² burst into the bishop's court accompanied by *armed soldiers*.³ With threats and defiant words they demanded to see the bishop who wanted to defend an adulterous woman against divine commandments and human laws. When Adalbert heard this—he was absorbed in sacred meditation as it was about midnight—he broke the silence by reciting aloud a verse from the Scripture, and came out of the church where he had been. Then, giving the kiss of peace⁴ to the brothers who were with him, he said: "Farewell and offer pious prayers to merciful Christ on my humble behalf!" Then, all ablaze with the wish for martyrdom, he advanced willingly to meet his enemies with quick steps and desire, no less so than those of people fleeing their enemies. And stepping forward boldly, *right into the middle of that army*,⁵ he said: "*If you are looking for me, here I am!*"⁶ Now, one of them, *whose attitude towards good people was always wicked*,⁷ replied in the name of them all as follows: "Vain is the hope of martyrdom and noble the desire for *a glorious death* that drive you!"⁸ Your sanctity is certainly wrong trying to throw this sin upon us. Your wish will not come true! No, something else will happen, something more regrettable! For if this whore is not delivered to us as soon as possible, we have your brothers, against whose wives, children, and properties we will avenge this offense!"⁹ As the rabid Slav was barking such things against the bishop, there! a traitor, bought off with gold, was readily found. This person signaled to some of that armed mob, calling

⁸ Maybe an echo of Sallust, *Cat.* 58.18 (*magna me spes uictoriae tenet*) combined with an expression (*gloria leti*) borrowed from the language of classical poetry; cf., for instance, Lucan, *Phars.* 4.479 (*nec gloria leti*) and Statius, *Theb.* 9.716 (*hortatrix animosi gloria leti*).

⁹ A threat that foreshadows the massacre of Adalbert's family (see below, p. 164, n. 6).

adest; qui excerpens eos clam ex agmine uocat seque itineris ducem prebens, domum, in qua clausa erat, domusque custodem manifestat. Custos uero tentus ab illis, nunc minis, nunc amicis affatibus, ut illam in manus eorum^a redderet, diu probatur; ad ultimum mortis timore perterritus, non sic sibi creditam cruentis hostibus^b prodidit feminam. Rapitur infelix illa, frustra pressis altaribus, et sub manu coniugis capitalem iussa est subire sententiam. Quod cum ille, uelut uir iustus, facere nollet, sub gladio uilis uernulę truncata, pęnas male usi corporis capite exsoluit.

<20.> His atque horum maioribus popularis nequitie studiis cum sermo docentis episcopi contrarie nequiret, flet bonus pastor, quia in morbo grege signa salutis nulla inesse prospexit.¹ Hinc pro spectandis sequentibus malis oculos claudere uolens, dulcis Rome moenia reuisit et naue^c monasterii mutat pastoralia frena.² Congaudent illo redeunte monastice plebis sacra collegia ac sanctitatis sue amore pariter et utilitate^d perfruuntur. Dilexerunt eum omnes, sed pre omnibus abbas suus,³ qui et post se totis cohortibus fratrum prefecerat illum. Ille autem omni uilitate et extremitate contentus, quanto magnus erat, tanto se cunctis inferiorem prebuit⁴; quanto spiritalibus diuitiis diues, tanto in oculis hominum paruus, pauper^e et despectus⁵ esse cupiuerat. Dicunt autem abbas fratresque eius de

^a in manus eorum *Ls*: illis *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃, om. LLaqRv₂*

^b cruentis hostibus *LsCc₁Cc₂Cc₃; om. LLaqRv₂*

^c naue *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃; amore LLaqRv₂*

^d et utilitate *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃ plurimique codd. red. Ottonianae: et ultra Ls, om. LLaqRv₂*

^e pauper *Ls*: semper *LLaqRv₂*

¹ This passage refers to St. Benedict, *Regula* 28.8: *ne una ouis morbida omnem gregem contagiet* "[If a faithless man is leaving, let him leave], lest one diseased sheep infect the whole flock" (tr. Venarde, 111). By making St. Adalbert's entire flock "diseased," not just one of its members, the author of the *Life* was able to apply in reverse the cure prescribed by St. Benedict's *Rule*. The allusion to St. Benedict's *Rule* is instrumental in this respect, insofar as it suggests that Adalbert may have been unsuccessful as a bishop, yet he was a perfect monk.

² Adalbert abandoned his episcopal see for the second time late in 994. In the present translation I have unified the two different metaphors of the original, which

them aside, and, offering to lead the way, showed them the house where the woman was hiding as well as her keeper. They laid their hands on the keeper and what with threats and what with friendly words, for quite some time they tried to persuade him to deliver her into their hands; at long last, fearing his own life, he delivered that woman into the hands of her bloodthirsty enemies—the very opposite of what he had been asked to do! The unfortunate woman was snatched away after she had in vain clung to the altar and was sentenced to suffer the capital punishment at the hands of her husband. When he refused to do any such thing—he was a righteous man—, cut down by the sword of a worthless slave, she paid with her head for the wicked use she had made of her body.

20. As the instructing word of the bishop proved powerless against such things and other, even more grievous feats of that villainous populace, the good shepherd wept, because he saw no sign of a possible recovery among his sick flock.¹ Therefore, wishing to avoid the sight of the evils he would have had to witness in the future, he sought once more the sight of the walls of his beloved Rome, exchanging his place at the helm of the bishopric for the monastic vessel.² The holy gathering of the monastic faithful was delighted to see him return and enjoyed fully the affection and the spiritual benefit they could derive from his sanctity. They all loved him, but his abbot³ most of all, who had even placed him in charge of all the monastic contingents, second to none but himself. Adalbert, however, contented himself with living in outmost simplicity and humility, and the higher he was in rank, the more he considered himself below everyone else⁴; the richer he was in spiritual riches, all the more *insignificant, poor, and of no account*⁵

speaks of “the ship of the monastery” (*naue monasterii*), with a pun on Lat. *navis* (both “nave” and “ship”), and of “pastoral reins” (*pastoralia frena*).

³ Leo, the abbot of the monastery of SS. Boniface and Alexius on the Aventine.

⁴ As required by St. Benedict, *Regula* 7.49: “The sixth step of humility is for a monk to be content with anything shabby and poor and judge himself a poor and unworthy worker in all tasks assigned to him” (tr. Venarde, 51).

⁵ Gregory the Great, *Dial.* 1.5.

eo, quia in omni uirtute ad unguem¹ perfectus est et extra martyrium uere sanctus erat. Sic de die in diem *semper nouus et se ipso robustior*² succrescens, ad diuinę contemplationis fastigia³ uelut castissima turtur euolauerat. Volens autem Dominus ostendere seruo suo, cuius meriti uiueret in conspectu suo, monstrat ei per uisum duos ordines in cęlo, unum purpureo, alterum niueo amictu, quibus sub diuersa specie singulare meritum et propria merces; ambobus tamen esca et potus erat laus perpetua Creatoris.⁴ Et facta est uox ad eum dicens: "Inter utrosque est tibi locus, conuiuacio mensę et aptissimus honor." Cuius rei uisionem abbati suo cum exponeret, non hoc de se, sed uelut sanctissimus Paulus *reuelationis* suę *mysteria*⁵ de alio homine narrat. "Scio," inquit, "*huiuscemodi hominem*,"⁶ cui Dominus per uisum talia ostendit et hęc ipsa donaturum se promittit."

<21.> Hoc ipso tempore iter agit Romam⁷ rex Francorum Otto tercius, pulchri cęsarıs *pulcherrima proles*. Decursis quippe puerilibus annis, cum iam uelut *prima lanugine* barbe⁸ floreret, tempus et uirtus, maior annis, imperatoriam sibi expoposcerant dignitatem. Roma autem cum caput mundi et urbium domina sit et uocetur, sola reges imperare facit; cumque principis sanctorum corpus suo sinu refoueat, merito principem terrarum ipsa constituere debet.

¹ Horace, *Serm.* 1.5.32: *ad unguem factus homo*; lit. "to the nail," a proverbial phrase in Latin (see also Vergil, *Georg.* 2.77: *in unguem* with Servius' commentary ad loc., which explains that this means "to perfection" and derives from the usage of the sculptors, who used to test the joints of the carved columns with their nail).

² Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 9.147, which integrates the biblical characterization of David in 2 Sam 3:1 (*et semper se ipso robustior*); see Berschin, *Biographie*, 165 and 37, n. 139.

³ Cf. Isidore of Seville, *Sent.* 3.15.2 (*contemplationis fastigium*).

⁴ Cf. Boethius, *De fide catholica*, ed. Stewart, Rand, and Tester, 70 (*superna illa ciuitas impleatur, ubi rex est uirginis filius eritque gaudium sempiternum, delectatio, cibus, opus, laus perpetua creatoris*).

⁵ Cf. Rom. 16:25 (*secundum reuelationem mysterii*).

⁶ 2 Cor. 12:3.

he wanted to appear in the eyes of men. And the abbot as well as the brothers say about him that he was accomplished in every sort of virtue, perfect to a hair,¹ and, save for martyrdom, truly a saint. Thus, *always renewed and growing always stronger and stronger*² with every day that passed, he raised himself ever higher to the peaks of divine contemplation,³ flowing upwards like a most chaste dove. And when the Lord wished to reveal to his servant how great his merits would be in His sight, he showed him in a vision two orders in heaven, one wearing purple, the other white, which had each, as their different outlook signified, their own merits and their individual rewards; for both, however, the sole nourishment and refreshment was the perpetual praise of their Maker.⁴ And a voice came to him, saying: "Your place, reserved portion and most appropriate honor belong with both of these!" When he revealed to the abbot his vision concerning this, he told of it not by speaking of himself, but, in the same way as most holy Paul did with *the mysteries of his own revelation*,⁵ as if it had been someone else. "I know," he said, "*such a man*,"⁶ to whom the Lord showed such things in a vision and promised to give him the very same."

21. It was at this same time that the king of the Franks, Otto III, *the most splendid descendant* of a splendid emperor made his way to Rome.⁷ For, once the years of his childhood had passed, when he was already blooming, his cheeks covered by *the first down* of his beard,⁸ both time and his virtue, which was greater than his years, had claimed the imperial dignity as something rightly befitting him. Now, Rome alone, being both in name and in deed the capital of the world and the mistress of all cities, can make emper-

⁷ On Otto's first Italian journey (March-August 996), see now Nicolangelo D'Acunto, "Eine 'Reisemacht' auf dem Prüfstand: Der erste Italienzug von Otto III. (996)," in André Brodacz et al., eds., *Institutionelle Macht. Genese – Verstetigung – Verlust* (Cologne: Böhlau, 2005), 89–105.

⁸ Otto III would have been sixteen years old at the time; his splendid youth is described here with the help of two classical phrases: *pulcherrima proles* of Vergil, *Aen.* 6.648 (see also 7.761) and the more commonplace *prima lanugine*, for which see Vergil, *Aen.* 10.324, Silius Italicus, *Punica* 7.691.

Suus ipsis diebus pontifex¹ acerrima febre correptus, corpus terrę, animam cęlo, utraque in sua dimisit exordia.

Rex autem Otto Alpium niues multo milite transmeans, iuxta sacram urbem Rauennam² regalia castra metatus est. Ibi in eius occursum ueniunt epistolę cum nuntiis, quas mittunt Romani proceres et senatorius ordo.³ Primo illius aduentum, uelut toto tempore paternę mortis non uisum,⁵ totis uisceribus desiderare⁴ ac debita fidelitate pollicitantur expectare; deinde in morte domini apostolici tam sibi, quam illis *non minimam inuectam esse partem incommodorum*⁶ annunciant et quem pro eo ponerent, regalem exquirunt sententiam. Erat item in capella regis quidam clericus nomine Bruno,⁷ secularibus litteris egregie eruditus et ipse regio sanguine genus ferens; magnę scilicet indolis, sed, quod minus bonum, multum feruidę iuuentutis. Hunc, quia regi placuit, a maioribus electum, Magontinus archipřsul Vuilgisus et suus collega Hildebaldus episcopus⁸ adduxerunt Romam. Proinde a Romanis honorifice acceptum, ad hoc ordinati episcopi apostolico honore promulgarunt.⁹ Superueniens etiam rex Romano more egregie

¹ Pope John XV died early in March 996.

² Ca. 25 April 996. Canaparius's account glosses over the first part of Otto's journey; in fact, after crossing the Alps, the German king stopped in Verona, then passed through Brescia, spent Easter at Pavia (12 April), and only then sailed down the Po to reach Ravenna at the end of the month.

³ In spite of the classicizing formula used here (for *senatorius ordo*, cf. Cicero, *In Verrem* 1.40 and *Pro Cluentio* 136), there was no historical continuity between the Roman Senate and the prominent individuals bearing the title of "senators" in tenth-century Rome. See Girolamo Arnaldi, "Rinascita, fine, reincarnazione e successive metamorfosi del Senato Romano (secoli V–XII)," *Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria* 105 (1982): 5–56.

⁴ Lit. *totis uisceribus* "from all their innards," i.e., "from the bottom of their heart."

⁵ More precisely, since mid-May/mid-June 983, when the three-year old Otto III was elected German king at an assembly held in Verona and associated to the rule of his father (Thietmar, *Chron.* 3.24). On the circumstances of this unusual election, see Althoff, *Otto III*, 29–30. Otto III had lived in Italy with his father and with his mother Theophano since his birth in June/July 980; after his royal election at Verona, he was sent to Aachen, where he was to be consecrated king on Christmas Day 983 by the archbishops Willgis of Mainz and Iohannes of Ravenna. News of Otto II's death on 7 December reached Aachen shortly after the coronation ceremonies (Thietmar, *Chron.* 3.26).

ors out of kings; and since she shelters at her bosom the body of the first among the apostles, she alone should also quite deservedly appoint the first among the earthly rulers. It was precisely in those days that the Roman pontiff,¹ struck down by a most violent fever, relinquished his body to the earth and his soul to heaven, releasing both to their original homelands.

King Otto, then, having crossed the snowy Alps with many a soldier, laid out his royal camp next to the holy city of Ravenna.² There, a letter and a delegation awaited his arrival, sent by the leading men of Rome and by the senatorial order.³ First of all, they declared that they were looking forward to his coming with all their affection⁴—they had not seen him at all during the time that elapsed since his father's death⁵—and that they were expecting him with all due fidelity. Then, they announced to him that the death of the apostolic father *had generated a great deal of inconvenience*⁶ both for him and for them and asked for the king's opinion as to who should replace him. Now, in the king's chapel there was a cleric called Bruno⁷; he had an excellent training in secular knowledge and was himself a descendant of royal blood; no doubt, a man of great innate qualities, yet—what was less fortunate—too much of a hot-headed youth. Since the king so deemed it appropriate, after he was elected by the most important people, this man was brought to Rome by Archbishop Willigis of Mainz and his colleague Bishop Hildebald.⁸ There he was received with honor by the Romans, and the bishops designated for this purpose raised him to the honor of the apostolic see.⁹ When afterwards the king also arrived, he was received splendidly, according to the Roman custom; thereafter he also attained the pinnacle of the empire amidst unan-

⁶ Cicero, *De inuent.* 1.1.1.

⁷ Bruno (b. 972–d. March 999), son of Otto of Wormsgau, duke of Carinthia, and Ludgarda-Ludith, daughter of Otto I.

⁸ Hildebald, archbishop of Worms (*sed.* 979–998), chancellor of Otto II and Otto III.

⁹ Bruno became pope on 3 May 996 under the name Gregory V; he was the first German to hold the papal throne. See T. E. Moebs, *Gregorius V, 996-999: A Biographical Study* (Stuttgart: Hiersemann, 1972).

accipitur; deinde et magno gaudio omnium imperatorum attigit apicem.¹ Lētantur cum primatibus minores ciuitatis, cum afflicto paupere exultant agmina uiduarum, quia nouus imperator *dat iura populis*,² dat iura nouus papa.

<22.> His temporibus christianissimus ille cēsar, cui circa seruos Dei maximum studium semper et diligens cura fuit, crebro alloquitur sanctum Adalbertum et habebat eum sibi familiarem, audiens libenter, quęcumque sibi diceret.

Archiepiscopus uero Vuilgisus ueterem querimoniam canens, domnum apostolicum de sancti hominis reditu^a interpellat; congeminat uota cum uotis et, ut reportaret illum, modis omnibus instat. In apostolica quoque synodo³ canonum testimonia reuoluens, coram omnibus se iusta petere clamat; peccatum esse, singulis ecclesiis maritatis,⁴ solam Pragam suo pastore uiduari; *iuste poscentibus beniuolam aurem*,⁵ uiduę ecclesię maritum suum prebere libera mente postulans erat. Rursum ex itinere, quo uersus est in patriam, continuis litteris hoc idem reiterare non cessat; nec dimisit prius, donec pollicitus est domnus apostolicus facturum se esse, quę uellet. Tristatus est autem homo Dei,⁶ quia relinquere cogitur monasterium. Pręscierat enim, quia populum, cui pastorem curam debuit, *a uia sua mala*⁷ nemo flectere quisset. Sed tristem eius animum hoc ualde solatur, quia si in commissis sibi animabus dignos fructus agere nequisset, extraneis et non baptizatis predicator missus fuerat. Ergo multis lacrimis fratrum dulce monasterium

^a domnum apostolicum de sancti hominis reditu *ZfZw₂BgBbPr₂Pr₃TrStOsCrGn: om. LsLLAqRv₂WbHkZw₁WdMlKn₁Kn₂Ad₂*

¹ Otto III was crowned as Roman Emperor on 21 May 996, on the feast of Ascension.

² Cf. Vergil, *Georg.* 4.559: *per populos dat iura* (of Caesar). The joint law-giving mentioned here may refer to the fact that Otto III and Gregory V both presided over the church synod convened in St. Peter's basilica shortly after the emperor's coronation (see next footnote).

³ Held in Rome on 25 May 996. On this synod, where Adalbert's desertion of his bishopric was discussed once more, see Hehl, *Die Reichskonzilien*, 527–33.

imous jubilation.¹ All rejoiced in the City: those of highest rank together with the simple folk; the oppressed poor exulted together with the crowds of widows because the new emperor *gives laws to the nations*, the new pope also gives laws.²

22. In those times, the most Christian Caesar, who always showed the greatest care and deepest solicitude towards the servant of God, often spoke to St. Adalbert and had him by his side as one of his closest, listening with pleasure to whatever he had to say.

Yet Archbishop Willigis started to sing once more his old dirge and lodged an official request with the apostolic father concerning our holy man's return; he heaped promises upon promises and insisted in all possible ways to have him sent back. He even invoked the testimony of the canons before the holy synod,³ declaring in front of all there that he was merely requesting what was right; that it was a sin, while all the other churches could enjoy the company of their lords and masters,⁴ only the one in Prague should remain widowed of her shepherd; he kept up his adamant requests that such *justified petitions should be granted a benevolent hearing*⁵ and the widowed church should have her lord and master restored to her. Even on his return journey, as he was going back to his homeland, he never stopped demanding this by means of a never-ending flood of letters. And he did not give it up until the apostolic father promised that he would do as Willigis wished. The man of God⁶ was saddened that he was forced to leave the monastery. For he knew beforehand that no one could avert the people to whom he owed pastoral care *from their wicked path*.⁷ Yet his sor-

⁴ I have attempted to render in this way the nuptial imagery used by the author of the *Life*, who speaks of all the churches as *maritatis* lit. "married, having a husband." On the "marital" relationship between a bishop and his church, symbolized by the episcopal ring received at the time of the investiture, see Haarländer, *Vitae episcoporum*, 307, n. 234.

⁵ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 1.77 (*iusta poscentibus aurem nos oportet beniuolam commodare*).

⁶ Viz., Adalbert.

⁷ Jer. 18:11, 23:22, 25:5; Hez. 13:22; Jon. 3:8,10.

linquens, cum summę discrecionis uiro Notherio¹ episcopo ultra Alpes proficiscitur.²

<23.> Cumque uelut duorum prope mensium iter agerent, uenerunt Magunciam, ubi regressus ab Italicis horis³ imperator comoratus est. Cum quo uir Dei mansit bonum tempus,⁴ quia familiarissimus sibi erat; et nocte pariter ac die uelut^a sanctissimus^b cubicularius⁵ imperiali camerę adhesit. Hoc autem non sic, uelut seculi aliquo amore captus, sed quia dilexit illum et dulcibus dictis ad amorem celestis patrię accendere uoluit.⁶ Nam die siue nocte, cum *turba locum dedit*,⁷ sanctis alloquiis aggreditur illum, docens,⁸ ne magnum putaret se imperatorem esse, cogitaret se hominem moriturum, cinerem ex pulcherrimo, putredinem et uermium escam esse futurum; uiduis se exhibere maritum, pauperibus et pu-

^a sibi erat et nocte pariter ac die uelut *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃ et rell. codd. red. Ottonianae: om. LsLLAqRv₁Rv₂*

^b sanctissimus *WbHkZw₁WdMlKn₁Kn₂Ad₂Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃: om. LsLLAqRv₁Rv₂*, dulcissimus *ZfCrGn*, amicissimus *Zw₂BgBbPr₂Pr₃TrStÖs*

¹ Probably in the summer of 996.

² Notger (Notker), bishop of Liège (972–1008), former provost of St. Gall and a member of the royal chapel, appointed bishop of Liège during the time of Otto the Great. He was one of the most prominent members of the intellectual entourage of Otto III. Johannes Fried proposed him (or, possibly, someone from his entourage) as the real author of the Ottonian redaction of the *Life* of St. Adalbert. See Fried, “Gnesen – Aachen – Rom,” 245–54. In addition to the evidence of the manuscript tradition, which excludes this, an immodest self-characterization by a Christian bishop such as that contained in this passage (*summę discrecionis uiro*) makes Fried’s attribution of the *Vita* to Notger himself extremely unlikely. Compare this with Canaparius’s self-effacing way of referring to himself as a mere *conuersus*, below, ch. 30 p. 172, n. 4.

³ Otto III had left Rome on 12 June 996, toured Umbria and Tuscany, then northern Italy; he crossed the Alps and is attested in Ingelheim on 15 September, after which he probably resided at Mainz until the end of October that year. The expression *Italicis horis* probably echoes Ovid, *Metamorph.* 15.7.

⁴ In fact, for no longer than six weeks, as Otto III is attested in Bruchsal and Selz after 31 October and until 18 November, then in Lotharingia until mid-December.

⁵ Such exclusive claims on Otto’s attention as an indicator of personal connections and the influence ensuing from it are common in the hagiography of the period and should not be taken at face value; for a sobering interpretation of these claims and a list of individuals who boasted of having captured Otto’s exclusive attention in the

rowful disposition was quite comforted by the knowledge that, if he were to prove unable to effect any significant change in the souls of those entrusted to him, he would be sent to preach to the foreigners and to those who were not yet baptized. So, all in tears, he left his beloved monastery and the brothers and he started his journey across the Alps¹ in the company of Bishop Notger,² a man of exceptionally sound judgment.

23. After almost two months on the road, they arrived at Mainz, where the emperor was also staying after his return from the Italian lands.³ The man of God remained with him for quite some time,⁴ because he was one of his closest. And he stayed day and night in the imperial bedchamber as a most holy attendant.⁵ Yet he did so not driven by some worldly desire, but because he had a great affection for the emperor and wished to stimulate his desire for the heavenly homeland through sweet conversations.⁶ Indeed, whether during the day or at night, whenever *the crowd would leave* the emperor *some respite*,⁷ he engaged him in holy conversations, teaching him⁸ not to think of himself as a great emperor, but rather to remember that he was a mortal man, whose splendid beauty would turn into ashes, rotting flesh, and fodder for the worms. [He also

same way as Canaparius does here on behalf of his hero, see Althoff, *Otto III*, 137–9. See also Jaeger, “Courtier Bishop,” 315–6 with n. 85 and n. 90. The mss. tradition offers divergent readings in this passage; both the text and the translation offered here adopt the reading *sanctissimus* attested by most mss. of the Ottonian version, confirmed by the second Aventine version. Note that, as a result of a common scribal error, triggered by the presence, within a short space, of two words ending in *-issimus*, mss. *LsLLAqRv*, *Rv*, omit the passage concerning Adalbert’s night and day attendance of the imperial bedchamber. This defective text could not have been that of the original of the *Life*, *pace* Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti*, 151.

⁶ As recommended by Gregory the Great, *Hom. in Hiez.* 1.5 (*quia ergo sancti uiri quosdam iuxta se positos quasi tangendo ad amorem patriae caelestis accendunt*) and 1.11 (*neque hoc speculatori sufficit ut altum uiuat, nisi et loquendo assidue ad alta auditores suos pertrahat eorumque mentes ad amorem caelestis patriae loquendo succendat*), from where the idea and the language are borrowed.

⁷ Ovid, *Ars amandi* 1.603 and *Fast.* 2.667.

⁸ What follows has been characterized as a “mirror for princes” of sorts; see Brunhölzl, *Histoire*, vol. 2, 336.

pillis monstrare se patrem; timere Deum ut *iustum ac districtum iudicem*,¹ amare ut pium *ueniē largitorem*² ac *misericiordiē fontem*³; sollicitè pensare, quam *angusta uia, quē ducit ad uitam*,⁴ et quam perpauca, qui intrant per eam; *bene agentibus* esset *per humilitatem socius, contra delinquentium uicia per zelum iusticię erectus*.⁵ Ad hunc modum *plura subnectens*,⁶ monet carum filium *presentis uitę bona* despicere, *ęternitatis electionem* desiderare, *mansura quęrere, in rebus temporalibus* et transitoriis *fiduciam non habere*.⁷ Cunctis, qui in regia domo erant, seruitutem seruientis,⁸ uelut seruus omnium, sic eorum uilissima quęque manibus tractat et omni humilitate eorum seruitia facit. Noctibus quoque, cum carperant somnum, calciamenta eorum componere cura fuit. Ab ianitore usque ad principem regię domus omnium caligas aqua abluit et purgatas eas suo loco restituit. Ad hunc modum plurima seruitia egit in camera et quanto quęque uilissima erant, tanto libentius ea pro humilitate ministrat. Sed seruiminis auctor diu incognitus latuit, donec quidam Volpharius,⁹ imperialis minister et sibi dilectus cubicularius, sanctum prodidit furem.

<24.> Vidit quoque ibi somnium nocte una, quod huiusmodi erat. Putabat se fratris sui¹⁰ curtem adire, et media curte stare domum, cuius structura aspectu erat delectabilis, parietes et tecta niuei candoris; intus duo lecti, unus sibi, alter fratri suo deputatus erat; uterque scilicet, ut decuit, multum honoris gerens, sed lectulus suus

¹ Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 34.19.

² A liturgical formula; it appears in the final prayer (*collecta*) of the Vespers of the Office for the Dead (*Deus, uenie largitor et humane salutis amator*); see Jean Deshusses, *Le sacramentaire grégorien: ses principales formes d'après les plus anciens manuscrits*, 2nd ed., vol. 2 (Fribourg: Éditions Universitaires, 1988), 206, no. 2862 and 229, no. 3051.

³ Another liturgical formula; Deshusses, *ibid.*, 114, no. 2257 (*qui es totius fons misericordię, spes et consolatio lugentium*).

⁴ Cf. Matt. 7:14 (*quam angusta porta et arcta uia quę ducit ad uitam*).

⁵ Gregory the Great, *Reg. past.* 2.1 (*bene agentibus per humilitatem socius, contra delinquentium uitia per zelum iustitię erectus*); see also *Ep.* 1.25.

⁶ Cf. Silius Italicus, *Punica* 12.602 (*subnectere plura*).

taught him] to be a spouse to the widows and to behave as a father towards the poor and towards the orphans; to fear God as a *just and strict judge*,¹ but to love Him as the trustworthy *granter of grace*² and the *source of mercy*³; to consider carefully how *narrow is the road that leads to life*,⁴ and how very few are those who pass through it; to make himself *the humble helper of those who do good, rising with unabated zeal for justice against the vicious deeds of those who trespass*.⁵ Weaving many such things⁶ into their conversations, Adalbert advised his dear son to despise *the good things of this earthly life*, to choose instead *the hope of eternal life, to seek that which is durable, and put no hope in worldly and transient things*.⁷ Serving as a servant⁸ all those who were in the royal household, as if he had been everybody's servant, he even carried in his own hands their most trivial things and rendered them service in complete humility. At night even, when they were sound asleep, he took care to clean their shoes; he washed the footwear of all those in the royal palace, from the gatekeeper to the king and, once they were clean, he returned them to their place. In this way he rendered great service in the royal chambers; the more trivial the nature of these services, all the greater was his pleasure in performing them for the sake of humility. Yet the mysterious author of such services remained unknown for a long time until a certain Wolphar,⁹ an imperial servant and an attendant whom he held dear, exposed the holy thief.

24. Now, it was there that, one night, Adalbert had a dream, which was as follows. He seemed to be going to his brother's court¹⁰ and to find, in the middle of the court, a palace—a construction quite charming to the sight, with walls and roofs as white as snow. Inside, there were two beds, one reserved for himself, the other for

⁷ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 8.26 (*iusti quippe desperare est praesentis uitae, bona aeternitatis electione deserere, mansura quaerere et in rebus temporalibus fiduciam non habere*).

⁸ Cf. Gen. 30:26 (*tu nosti seruitutem qua seruiui tibi*).

⁹ Unknown from elsewhere.

¹⁰ Adalbert's elder brother, Soběslav (d. 1004), the head of the Slavníks after his father's death in 981.

omnem gloriam alterius longe precellens, totus purpureo splendore et sericis ornamentis amictus, ad caput uero aurei staminis linteo pulcherrime redimitus. Sursum uero in capite erat aureis litteris scriptum: “Munus hoc auctentum^a,¹ filia sponsa tibi.”^b,² Cuius uisionis ordinem cum aliquibus narrando exponeret: “Vide,” inquit illi, “quia Christo Domino secundante martyr eris futurus. Regis filia, quę dat tibi regia dona, hęc est domina cęli, sacratissima uirgo Maria.” Hęc audiens ille factus est lętissimo animo; et ingressus cubiculum cordis,³ egit gratias sancto sanctorum angelorum domino et omnipotenti Christo. Hinc matrem gratiarum, quę regis solio proxima sedit, prona ceruice et gauisę mentis iubilo adoratur: “Gloria tibi,” inquit, “uirgo Maria, maris stella, quę me ut pia domina humillimum seruum tuum respicere dignata es.”

<25.> Hac ipsa tempestate adiit Turoniam, queręns auxilio sanctum senem Martinum.⁴ Nec preteriit Floriacum, qui beatissimum corpus confessoris nostri et patris Benedicti⁵ suo gremio collocare meruit; ubi etiam, quis ille sit Domino, cęcorum uisus, claudorum gressus, surdorum auditus⁶ et cęlestium miraculorum multa milia protestantur. Horum duorum karissimorum patrum sacris confabu-

^a auctentum *Ls*: auctoriale optimum *glossa eadem manu Ls*, authenticum *Ll*, autenticum *AqRv₁Rv₂Pr₃TrOs*, autentum *Bg*, auttentum *Cr*

^b filia sponsa tibi *Ls*: donat tibi sponsa filia regis *ZfCr* donet tibi filia regis *Gn*

¹ This translation of the otherwise unattested form *auctentum* transmitted in *Ls* and which may go back to the original version of the *Life*, is based on the interpretation of Adalbert's dream provided later in this chapter, where *munus auctentum* is explained as *regia dona* “royal gifts.” A similar solution in Jana Zachová's translation (*Slavnikovci*, 140). For other translations, cf. Marian Plezia, ed., *Słownik łaciny średniowiecznej w Polsce = Lexicon mediae et infimae latinitatis Polonorum*, vol. 1.6 (Wrocław: Zakład Narodowy im. Ossolińskich, 1957), 47: *alicui destinatus*; Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti*, 175: “wahrhaftige Geschenk” (relying on the reading *aut(h)enticum* attested in *LLAqRv₁Rv₂*); Abgarowicz, *Piśmiennictwo*, 70: “dar ten najlepszy” (translating *optimum*, a gloss added in *Ls* by a contemporary hand).

² This inscription as well as the elaborate description that precedes it may allude to Ps. 44:14 (*omnia gloria eius filiae regis ab intus, in fimbriis aureis* “All glorious is the king's daughter in her chambers, her robes are interwoven with gold”). Some mss. of the *Life* (*Zf* and the mss. of version *C*) read the inscription in a slightly different form: *donat tibi sponsa filia regis* “...will give to you [your] betrothed, the daughter of

his brother; while both of these—as it was only proper!—were indeed lavishly decorated, Adalbert's own little bed surpassed by far the glory of the other; it was all draped with splendid purple and adorned with silk, and at the head it was most beautifully decorated with a hanging curtain of cloth interwoven with gold. Above, on the headstand, there stood an inscription in golden letters: "This royal¹ gift the daughter, your betrothed, [gives] to you."² When he told some people about what he had seen in this dream they said: "See, with the help of Christ our Lord, you will become a martyr! The king's daughter who gives you royal gifts is none other than the Heavenly Lady, the most holy Virgin Mary." Hearing this, his spirit was filled with joy and, retiring to the inner chamber of his heart,³ he gave thanks to Almighty Christ, the holy Lord of the holy angels. He then worshiped the Mother of Mercy, who sits next to the throne of the King, bowing down his head, yet raising up in his mind exuberant shouts of joy: "Glory to you," he said, "o Virgin Mary, Star of the Sea, who, like a merciful mistress, have deemed it worthy to cast your eyes on your most humble servant!"

25. In this same period, he traveled to Tours, imploring the help of the holy old man Martin.⁴ He did not stay away from Fleury either, which had earned the honor to house in its ground the most holy body of our father and confessor Benedict⁵; at that place, the blind who recover their sight, the lame who walk again, the deaf who hear,⁶ and thousands upon thousands of other miracles still manifest clearly how powerful that saint is in the eyes of God. Replenished by the spiritual conversations with these two most be-

the king." This version is also attested by Bruno of Querfurt, who has here *Munus hoc donat tibi filia regis* (see his *Vita s. Adalberti* 20, ed. Karwasińska, 26).

³ A very popular metaphor for spiritual contemplation and prayer, which ultimately goes back to a famous New Testament passage; cf. Matt. 6:6.

⁴ St. Martin of Tours (316–397).

⁵ Fleury on the Loire; the relics of St. Benedict were taken there from Monte Cassino at the beginning of the eighth century.

⁶ Cf. Matt. 11:5.

lationibus pastus, læto animo regreditur ad imperiale domicilium.¹ Inde, quid sibi menti foret, quę uolente Deo agere uellet, sub lucem proferens, cepit cum dilecto cęsare familiarem extremum sermonem habere. Finita locutione, pacis *oscula* inuicem *libant*² et amplius numquam sociandos non absque dolore separant amplexus. Vir ergo sanctus eius caram uitam carissimo Ihesu multum commendans, secundum placitum archipresulis sui³ ad apostatricem gentem^a pergere cepit. Sapuit ipse, quod consilio suo non obaudirent, sed ne inobędiens esset, iussum iter adimplere maluit. Hoc etiam eius animo magnam spem tribuit, quia si non in filiis, alienis tamen et barbaris *animarum lucra congregare*⁴ potuit. Erant enim multe nationes per circuitum, per quas aut sibi martyrium, aut eis baptismi gratiam^b conferre^c potuit. Gens autem hæc sceleratissima, ad quam redire compulsus est, in odium sui nominis *grande nefas*⁵ peregerunt. Nam parentes suos, nobiles et preclaros uiros,⁶ misero uulnere prosternunt; fratres fratrumque filios, masculum una cum insonte femina, omnes morte seuissima dampnarunt; ciuitates quoque eorum igne ac ferro deuastantes, omnia eorum bona in captiuitatem redegerunt. Unus autem ex suis fratribus, dum hæc mala domi geruntur, cum Bolizlauo, Palaniorum duce,⁷ foris in expeditione imperatoris erat. Dux uero ille pro amore sancti fratris magnis promissis et *amicis opibus* eum *solatur*.⁸

^a gentem *om. LsLlRv₁Rv₂*

^b gratiam *Ls p.c.*: gratia *Ls a.c. LLaqWbHkZw₁WdMlKn₁Kn₂Ad₂*

^c conferri *LlKn₁*

¹ Otto III was in Nijmegen during the first part of December 996; he spent Christmas in Cologne, and at the beginning of January 997 moved to Aachen.

² Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 1.254 (*oscula libauit natae*), Silius Italicus, *Punica* 1.104 (*genitor caput oscula libat*), Statius, *Theb.* 10.61 (*pueri Iouis oscula libat*).

³ Probably at the end of December 996.

⁴ Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 7.4.

⁵ Cf. Juvenal, *Sat.* 13.53 (*grande nefas et morte piandum*).

⁶ The massacre of the Slavniks happened on 27-28 September 995, as the would-be head of the clan, Soběslav, was away, assisting an imperial campaign against the Abodrites living on the Elbe. On this expedition and the political circumstances surrounding the massacre of the Slavniks by the ruling Přemyslids, see now Jürgen Peter-

loved fathers, he returned to the imperial quarters¹ in great spirits. Thereupon, he started his last intimate conversation with his dear Caesar, laying open before him what he had in mind and what kind of things he intended to do with the help of God. At the end of this conversation, they *gave* each other *kisses*² of peace and, not without regret, embracing each other, they parted never to meet again. Then, entrusting repeatedly Otto's dear life to his dearest Jesus, our holy man started on his journey back to that apostate nation according to the order of his archbishop.³ He knew quite well that they would not listen to his advice, yet he preferred to accomplish the journey as ordered for fear of appearing guilty of insubordination. There was something else too that gave him hope, namely the fact that he was free to reap a *spiritual crop* if not *from the souls*⁴ of his own spiritual children, then at least from those of foreigners and barbarians. For there were many nations all around, among whom he could either gain the grace of baptism for those people or gain martyrdom for himself. Meanwhile, that most wicked nation to which he was compelled to return perpetrated a *great crime*⁵ out of spite for his name; they massacred his relatives, noble and most illustrious men,⁶ inflicting cruel wounds on them; they sent them all to a most gruesome death, his brothers and their sons, the men together with the innocent women. Moreover, they laid waste their cities by sword and fire and plundered all their possessions. However, one of his brothers, while this tragedy was unfolding at home, was abroad on an imperial military expedition together with Bolesław, the duke of the Poles.⁷ And that illustrious duke *comforted* him, for the sake of his holy brother, *with* great promises and *friendly assistance*.⁸

sohn, "König Otto III. und die Slawen an Ostsee, Oder und Elbe um das Jahr 995. Mecklenburgzug – Slawnikidenmassaker – Meissenprivileg," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 37 (2003): 99–139, esp. 122ff, and Lutofský and Petráň, *Slavnikovci*, 134–41. According to Bruno of Querfurt, *Vita s. Adalberti* 21 (ed. Karwasińska, 27), the attack on Libice, the center of the Slavniks, took place on a symbolic date, the feast of St. Wenceslas.

⁷ Bolesław I Chrobry ("the Brave"), duke (992–1025), then king (1025) of Poland.

⁸ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 5.39 (*excipit ac fessos opibus solatur amicis*).

<26.> Ergo pro his sceleribus aditum sibi clausum esse putans ille sanctissimus^a heros, noluit frustrari aduentum suum; sed declinauit ad prefatum ducem, quia sibi amicissimus erat et si se recipere uellent per eius missos explorare potuit. Quo facto, econtra illi magna indignatione remittunt ei irę et furoris plena uerba, dicentes: “Sumus peccatores, populus iniquitatis,¹ gens *dure ceruicis*²; tu sanctus, amicus Dei, *uerus Israhelita*,³ et tibi omnia cum Domino. Tantum ac talem non portant cohabitationes et consortia iniquorum.⁴ Et tamen unde nouum hoc genus, ut tociens repulsos, tociens abiectos, *non unius sed diuersarum mentium*⁵ requirat episcopus? Agnoscimus,” ingeminant, “quod sub colore pietatis *mendosum tinniat*⁶ hęc sanctitas. Nolumus eum, quia si ueniet, non uenit pro nostra salute, sed pro puniendis malis et iniuriis, quę fratribus suis fecimus et *fecisse iuuat*.⁷ *Non est, qui recipiat eum, non est usque ad unum*.⁸ Hęc et his similia audiens beatus episcopus, tanto lęticie risu exuberat, ut pęne a solito rigore magnum aliquid excederet.⁹ “*Disrupisti*,” inquit, “*uincula mea. Tibi sacrificabo gloriam et sacrificium laudis*,¹⁰ quia pastoralis curę funem et uincula de meo collo ipsorum refutatio liberauit. Fateor me hodie, o bone Ihesu, totum esse tuum; tibi, *dominator uirtutis*¹¹ ęterne, laus, honor et gloria. Noluisti eos, qui te nolunt et qui *a uia ueritatis*¹² in desiderio declinant.”

^a sanctissimus *om. LLaqRv* _{Rv}₂

¹ Cf. Isa. 1:4 (*uae genti peccatrici, populo graui iniquitate*).

² Exod. 32:9, 33:3, 5.

³ John 1:47.

⁴ Cf. Hilary of Poitiers, *Tract. super Ps.* 119.22 (*iniquorum consortium et cohabitationem habitantium in obscuritatibus*).

⁵ Gregory the Great, *Ep.* 11.10.

⁶ Cf. Persius, *Sat.* 5.104 (*ne qua subaerato mendosum tinniat auro*); this verse was quoted by Priscianus, *Inst.* 8 (*Grammatici Latini*, ed. Keil, vol. 2, 433) and Sedulius Scotus, *Collectaneum miscellaneum* 12.36.

⁷ Ovid, *Heroid.* 19.57 (*quae fecisse iuuat, facta referre pudet*).

⁸ Adapting in a rather perverse way Ps. 13:1 (*non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum*).

⁹ Reluctance to laugh was praised in the *Rule* of St. Benedict as a proof of perfect humility; see *Regula* 7.59 (*decimus humilitatis gradus est si non sit facilis ac promp-*

26. Therefore, our most holy hero believed that, because of these crimes, his way back had been barred and had no wish to transform his return into a fiasco. Instead, he turned to the aforementioned duke, who was quite amicably disposed towards him, and he was able to discover through messengers sent by the duke whether [his flock] would receive him back. When this eventually happened, those people, greatly indignant, sent him back words filled with anger and rage, saying: “We are all sinful, a people of iniquity,¹ a *stiff-necked nation*.² You, on the other hand, you are a saint, the friend of God, a *true Israelite*,³ and in all [that you do] the Lord is with you! Such a great man and one of this kind can hardly endure the company and the society of sinners!⁴ Yet, who has ever heard of such a wondrous thing, that a bishop *whose mind is never made up, but shifts constantly*,⁵ should actually want us back, the ones so many times rejected, so many times abandoned? We can see,” they added, “that this sort of sanctity *sounds hollow and fake*⁶ under its pious pretense! We do not want him, because if he comes, he comes not for the sake of our salvation, but rather in order to mete out punishments for the wrongs and iniquities we have wrought against his brothers—and *enjoyed* very much *doing so*!⁷ *There is no one to receive him, not a single man!*”⁸ When the holy bishop heard this and other things of the same ilk, he burst into such joyous laughter as to depart somewhat, for once, from his normal, serious demeanor.⁹ “*You have freed me from my chains! I will bring You an offering of praise and a sacrifice of thanksgivings*,¹⁰ because their own refusal has broken the fetters and the chains of pastoral care off my neck. Today I can declare, o good Jesus, that I am entirely Yours! To You, who are *sovereign in eternal strength*,¹¹ praise, honor, and glory! You have rejected those who rejected You and who stray *from the way of truth*¹² into their own desire!”

tus in risu “the tenth step of humility is not to be easy or ready in laughter,” tr. Venarde, 53).

¹⁰ A combination of Ps. 115:7–8 (*disrupisti uincula mea, tibi sacrificabo hostiam laudis*) and 49:14 (*immola Deo sacrificium laudis*).

¹¹ Wisd. 12:18.

¹² Wisd. 5:6.

<27.> Inde aduersus diram barbariem prophanosque idolatras gladium predicationis acuens et aptans, cum quibus primum, cum quibus postmodum dimicare oporteret, animo deliberare cepit: utrum Liuticenses,¹ quos christianorum preda miserorumque hominum dampna pascunt, an Pruzzorum fines adiret, *quorum deus uenter*² est et auaricia iuncta cum morte. Tandem alternanti potior sententia successit animo, ut quia hæc regio proxima et nota fuerat duci predicto, Pruzzię deos et idola iret debellaturus. Dux uero cognita uoluntate eius, dat ei nauem et ipsam pro pace itineris ter deno milite armat. Ipse uero adiit primo urbem Gyddanizc,³ quam ducis *latissima regna*⁴ dirimentem maris confinia tangunt. Ibi, diuina misericordia aduentum eius prosperante, baptizabantur hominum multę cateruę. Ibi missarum sollempnia celebrans, patri immolat Christum, cui non post multos illos dies se ipsum pro hostia fuerat oblaturus. Quicquid uero superfuit de eo, quod ipse et noui^a baptizati communicarunt, colligere iubet et mundissimo panno inuolutum sibi seruabat pro uiatico deportandum.

^a noui *Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃ et plurimi codd. red. Ottonianae Ls p.c.: noti Ls a.c., om. LLAqRv₁Rv₂*

¹ An alliance of Western Slavic tribes known under this name in the latter part of the tenth century. They occupied territories between the Elbe and the Oder centered around Rhetra and were part of a larger confederation earlier known as the Veleti. They are believed to have played the key role in a major Slavic uprising of 983, which caused a massive setback for the Ottonian efforts and the implementation of imperial authority east of the Elbe. See Christian Lübke, "Christianity and Paganism as Elements of Gentile Identities to the East of the Elbe and Saale Rivers," in Ildar H. Garipzanov et al., eds., *Franks, Northmen, and Slavs: Identities and State Formation in Early Medieval Europe* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2008), 189–203.

² Phil. 3:19.

27. Next, sharpening and making ready the sword of his preaching against the cruel barbarians, the godless, and the idolaters, he started pondering with whom he should join battle first and with whom only later, whether to go against the Liutizi,¹ who live on plunder taken from Christians and off the spoils extorted from unfortunate people, or into the territories of the Prussians, *who worship as god their stomach*² and avarice paired with death. At last, after swinging back and forth between the two, he made up his mind: he would go and defeat the gods and idols of Prussia, since this land was closer and better known to the said duke. On his part, the duke, once he learned of Adalbert's intention, gave him a ship and a crew of thirty armed men to secure him a peaceful journey. Now, Adalbert went first to the city of Gdańsk,³ which stands on the border of the duke's *vast realm*⁴ and also touches the sea-shore. There, since divine grace rendered his arrival prosperous, numerous crowds of people were baptized. There he celebrated the ritual of the mass and sacrificed Christ to the Father, [Christ] to whom he was to bring himself as sacrifice just a few days later. Whatever was left of the host which he had shared with the newly baptized, he had it collected and, wrapping it in a very clean cloth, put it aside as provision for his journey.

³ Most of the manuscripts of the German branch name here the city of Gdańsk (in various spellings such as *Gyddanyzc*, *Gyddanyze*, *Gidanic* etc.) while in the Italian branch of the tradition a corrupt form of the same name (*Gnesdon*, *Gesdon*) appears; this was read as *Gnezne* or *Gnezdn* by Bruno of Querfurt (*Vita s. Adalberti* 24, ed. Karwasińska, 29), who then claimed that St. Adalbert started his missionary activity in Gniezno, which is quite unlikely. On this, see Karwasińska, "Studia krytyczne III," 136, and her critical edition of the *Vita*, 40, n. 156.

⁴ Cf. Ovid, *Heroid.* 2.103 (*latissima regna Lycurgi*).

<28.> Postera autem die salutatis omnibus inponitur carinē et pelago et tollitur ab eorum oculis, nunquam postea uidendus. Hinc nauticum iter uelocissimo cursu peragens, post paucos dies marinum litus egreditur,¹ et reuersa est nauis cum armato custode. Ipse autem pro prestitis beneficiis gratiam uectoribus et uectorum domino agens, remansit ibi cum geminis fratribus, quorum alter presbiter Benedictus,² alter dilectus et a puero sibi comes frater Gaudentius erat. Tunc magna fiducia Christum predicantes, intrant paruum insulam, quē curuo amne circumuecta, formam circuli adeuntibus monstrat. Venientes uero loci possessores, cum pugnis expulerunt eos. Et quidam, arrepto nauiculē remo, astitit episcopo propius et ut forte psalmos in libro decantauerat, ingentem ictum inter scapulas dedit. *Excussus manibus*³ uolat in diuersa codex, et ipse extenso capite et membris iacet humo prostratus; sed exterius afflicto corpore, quid pia^a mens intus ageret, *risus cordis*⁴ per uocis organum mox patefecit. “Gratias tibi,” inquit, “ago Domine, quia, etsi amplius non erit, saltem uel unum ictum pro crucifixo meo accipere merui.” Transiens autem in aliam partem fluminis, stetit ibi sabbato. Vespere autem factus dominus uillē diuinum herosa Adalbertum transduxit in uillam. Congregat se undique *iners uulgu*⁵ et quid de illo foret acturus, furibundo^b et *canino rictu*⁶ exspectant.

^a pia *Ls omnesque rell.*: diua *Ll*, sancta *AqRv₁Rv₂*

^b furibundo *LsLLAqRv₁Rv₂ZfGn*: furibunda uoce *rell. codd. red. Ottonianae necnon Ad₁LrCc₁Cc₂Cc₃VnBr*

¹ In spite of intense and protracted scholarly debates, the place where Adalbert landed and started his Prussian mission as well as that of his subsequent martyrdom remain unidentified. For a brief survey of the main opinions expressed on this issue, see Gerard Labuda, “Ein europäisches Itinerar seiner Zeit: Die Lebensstationen Adalberts,” in Henrix, ed., *Adalbert von Prag*, 59–75, esp. 72–73. More recently, in his *Święty Wójciech*, 219–20, Labuda regards the region around Elbląg (Germ. Elbing) as the most probable site for the saint’s martyrdom. This is all the more likely if one identifies the place where the saint and his companions came ashore as Truso, a famous port in early medieval times, which has been located by archaeologists near Elbląg, in the small settlement of Janów Pomorski, near Lake Drużno (Germ. Drausensee); on this, see Marek F. Jagodziński and Maria Kasprzycka, “The Early Mediaeval Craft and Commercial Centre at Janów Pomorski near Elbląg on the South Baltic Coast,” *Antiquity* 65 (1991): 696–715, and Jagodziński’s more recent study, “Truso – Siedlung und Hafen im slawisch-estnischen Grenzgebiet,” in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, vol. 1, 170–4.

28. Then, the next day he said farewell to everyone, he got himself to a ship and onto the sea and disappeared from their eyesight, never to be seen again. From there, after a very rapid journey on the sea, a few days later he came ashore,¹ while the ship went back together with his armed guard. As for him, he thanked the boatmen and the God of the boatmen for their help and remained there together with two brothers, of which one was Benedict the priest² and the other Gaudentius, his brother and beloved companion ever since the days of his childhood. Then, preaching Christ with great confidence, they went to a small island, which to the eye of the beholder presented a perfect circular shape, embraced from both sides by the curved branches of the river. But there came the owners of that place and kicked them out with blows. And one of them, grabbing the paddle of his small vessel, came near the bishop, who, as it happened, was reciting psalms from his book, and gave him a terrible blow between the shoulders. The book *flew out of* Adalbert's *hands*,³ scattered all over the place, while he himself fell down to the ground and lay there prostrated with his head and limbs spread out. Yet even though his body was suffering in this way outwardly, his mouth soon expressed what was going on inwardly, in his pious mind, namely, the joyous *laughter of his heart*.⁴ "Thank you o Lord," he said, "that, even if there should be no more than this, at least I have been found worthy to receive this single blow for the sake of my Crucified!" Then he crossed to the other side of the river and remained there on Saturday. When evening came, the owner of that property had our divine hero, Adalbert, brought over to his residence. The *spineless crowd*⁵ gathered from all sides and stood by watching *with rabid snarls, like dogs*,⁶ what would happen to him.

² Benedictus (Pol. Bogusz, Lat. Bugussa), a subdeacon of Polish origin who probably served as interpreter to St. Adalbert.

³ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 9.475 (*excussi manibus radii reuolutaque pensa*).

⁴ Cf. Gregory the Great, *Moralia in Iob* 8.52 (*risus cordis tunc de laetitia nascetur securitatis*).

⁵ Lucan, *Phars.* 5.363–64.

⁶ Juvenal, *Sat.* 10.271–72.

Tunc sanctus Adalbertus, quis et unde esset uel ob quam causam illuc ueniret, interrogatus, talia econtra miti uoce respondit: “Sum natiuitate Sclauus, nomine Adalbertus, professione monachus, ordine quondam episcopus, officio nunc uester apostolus. Causa nostri itineris est uestra salus, ut relinquentes simulacra surda et muta, agnoscatis creatorem uestrum, qui solus, et extra quem alter deus non est; et ut credentes in nomine eius uitam habeatis et in atriis inmarcessibilibus¹ cęlestium gaudiorum premia percipere mereamini.” Hęc sanctus Adalbertus. Illi autem iam dudum indignantes et cum clamore blasphema uerba aduersus eum proclamantes, mortem sibi minantur. Et extemplo terram baculis percutientes, fustes capiti eius apponunt et infrendunt dire dentibus in eum. “Magnum sit tibi,” inquit, “quod huc usque impune uenisti; et sicut celer reditus spem uite ita tibi paruę morę necis dampna creabunt. Nobis et toto huic regno, cuius nos fauces sumus, communis lex imperat et unus ordo uiuendi. Vos uero, qui estis alterius et ignotę legis,^a nisi hac nocte discedatis, in crastinum decapitabimini.” Ipsa uero nocte² in nauiculam inponebantur et retro ducti manserunt quinque dies in uico quodam.³

<29.> Haec dum in illa parte geruntur, ecce in monasterio, ubi ille talis nutritus fuerat, cuidam conuerso⁴ Iohanni Canapario^{b, 5} talia Dominus per uisum ostendit. E summo cęlo uelut uolantia

^a plebis *HkZw₁WdMKn₁Ad₂*

^b Canapario *LsAd₁LrCc₁Cs₁Cs₂*; campanario *LLaQRv₁Rv₂Zw₂BgBbPr₂Pr₃TrStOsCrGn*, cannapario *HkCc₁(a.c.)Cc₂(a.c.)NpCm*, canapareo *Cc₃*, campario *Vn*, canipario *Br*

¹ Cf. 1 Pet. 5:4 (*percipietis inmarcessibilem glorie coronam*) and 1:4 (*in hereditatem incorruptibilem et incontaminatam et inmarcessibilem conseruatam in caelis*).

² 17/18 March 997.

³ Between 18 and 22 March 997.

⁴ *Conuersi* were persons who entered a monastic community relatively late in their adult life as opposed to the *oblatis*, who were ritually offered to a monastery in their early childhood, grew up, and were educated there. In spite of the years spent in the monastery, Canaparius here modestly refers to himself as a “newcomer” to monastic life. He displayed the same monastic self-abasement on his epitaph, where he speaks of himself as *Tardus ad omne bonum, promptus ad omne malum. A capite usque pedes*

Then St. Adalbert, when asked who he was, from where, and for what purpose he had come there, replied in a meek voice as follows. "I am a Slav by birth, Adalbert by name, a monk by profession, and once a bishop by rank, but now by my function—your apostle. Your salvation is the purpose of our journey; that you abandon your deaf and dumb idols and recognize your Maker, who alone is God and besides whom there is no other; and that you may come to life, believing in His name, and be found worthy to receive the reward of celestial joys in the imperishable dwellings."¹ Thus spoke St. Adalbert. They, however, by now quite outraged, raised a terrible row shouting blasphemous words at him, and threatened to kill him. And right on the spot, they started hitting the ground with their sticks, giving his head a nudge or two with their cudgels, and for a long time gnashed their gruesome teeth at him. "You should think yourself very lucky," they said, "that you have made it so far undisturbed! Only a quick departure may give you some hope to stay alive; if you stay here even a little longer, you will not escape certain death! This entire realm, to which we stand as gateway, and we ourselves obey one common law and have one single way of life! But you, who have a different law, unknown to us, will lose your heads tomorrow if you do not go away tonight!" That very night² they were put in a small vessel and, going back, they stayed for five days in some village.³

29. While this was going on in those parts, in the monastery where our great man had been brought up, the Lord suddenly revealed in a vision to a certain *conuersus*⁴ named Iohannes Canaparius,⁵ the following things. Two linen shrouds, as white as snow and pure, without the smallest trace of filth or stain, came down from the heights of heaven as if flying until their reached the earth. They both lifted up their burdens from the ground, namely one man

maculant membra omnia sordes "Slow to do any good, quick to all sorts of evil / With limbs covered from head to toe with all kinds of filth" (complete Latin text in MGH Poetae 5.1–2, ed. K. Strecker, 343, no. 118).

⁵ On Iohannes Canaparius see the Preface (p. 82, n. 5).

deorsum ueniunt usque ad terram duo^a lintheamina alba sicut nix et munda absque omni sorde et macula. Ambo sua onera, singulos quidem uiros, de terra leuant; ambo felicissimo cursu nubes et aurea sidera¹ transnātant. Vnius nomen extra ipsum, qui hęc uidit,^{b, 2} admodum paucissimi sciunt³; alter uero erat, ut adhuc hodie ipse meminit, domnus Adalbertus, cui angelicus minister iam celestis mense conuiuia preparauit.^{c, 4} At pater Nilus ignotum est, quid de eo uideret; sed dulcibus scriptis eundem uirum⁵ ita alloquitur: “Scias, dulcissime fili, quia amicus noster Adalbertus *ambulat cum Spiritu*⁶ Sancto et beatissimo fine presentem uitam erit terminaturus.” Item fratri Gaudentio, quę opere futura erant, *nocturna quies*⁷ textis ambagibus⁸ dixit. Expergefactus ergo, si uellet audire somnium suum, interrogat dilectum patrem. Respon-

^a duo *om. Ls*

^b qui hęc uidit *codd. red. Ottonianae*: onicrotem *Ad*₁, orincrotem *Lr*, ornicrotem *Cc*₁*Cc*₂*Cc*₃, qui uidit *Cs*₁*Cs*₂*NpCm*

^c alter uero erat, ut adhuc hodie ipse meminit, domnus Adalbertus, cui angelicus minister iam celestis mense conuiuia preparauit *om. LsLLaQrv*, *Rv*₂

¹ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 2.486 (*ferit aurea sidera clamor*) and 11.832–3 (*ferit aurea clamor/sidera*).

² Although present in all the mss. of the Ottonian redaction (*A*), these words are most probably a later gloss on the rare term *onicrotem* (from Gk. *ὄνειροκρίτης* “dream interpreter”), which stood in Canaparius’s lost original, as suggested by the meaningless variant readings (*onicrotem*, *orincrotem*, *ornicrotem*) preserved in the mss. of the second Aventine redaction (*B*). As Karwasińska rightly saw, this indicates that the author(s) of the second Aventine redaction (*B*) still had access to (and attempted to preserve) Canaparius’s original, whose elaborate language was simplified by other copyists, less familiar with it, including those who, at Monte Cassino, put together the third redaction of the *Life*; see Karwasińska’s introduction to her critical ed., xxvi, and her “Studia krytyczne III,” in *Wybór pism*, 146. Fried’s suggestion that the “original” reading of *A* (*qui hęc uidit*) was changed to the incomprehensible *onicrotem* (which he refers to, without any evidence as a *volkssprachliche Wort*) by the author(s) of *B*, working in a “mixed Latin-Greek linguistic area” is both implausible and unsubstantiated; cf. Fried, “Gnesen – Aachen – Rom,” 248–9.

³ The identity of this first man remains a mystery; Bruno of Querfurt, who had the opportunity to question Canaparius about it, resignedly wrote: “I was unable, I confess, to draw it out of his mouth and so, I do not know for certain whether it is this or

each; both sailed then, without a single obstacle in their path, among the clouds and *brilliant constellations*.¹ Other than the one who saw all this,² very few are the people who know the name of one of the men³; the other was—as he who saw it remembers even to this day—lord Adalbert, for whom an angelic steward was already preparing the dishes of a heavenly banquet.⁴ It is, however, not known what was revealed to father Nilus concerning Adalbert; nevertheless, this is how he addressed in a well-pleasing letter the aforementioned man⁵: “You should know, dearest son, that our friend Adalbert is *walking with the Holy Spirit*⁶ and will end his earthly life in a most saintly manner.” Also, *the silent night*⁷ foretold to his brother Gaudentius in rather roundabout and obscure ways⁸ the things that were about to happen. When he woke up, he asked the beloved father whether he wanted to hear about his dream. Adalbert answered: “If you have anything to say, say it!”

that man” (*Vita s. Adalberti* 27, ed. Karwasińska, 34). Given Canaparius’s self-effacing tone elsewhere in the text (see above, p. 172, n. 4), this may well be a reference to himself.

⁴ All the earliest mss. of the Ottonian redaction (*Ls, Ll, Aq, Rv, Rv*₂), i.e., the Rhineland and Saxony branches, omit the passage that identifies Adalbert as the second man in Canaparius’s premonitory dream, which thus becomes meaningless. This omission, due probably to an early accident in the textual transmission of the *Vita* across the Alps, has not affected the mss. belonging to the other branches of the tradition; the text printed and translated here is based, following Karwasińska’s ed., on the latter. Both the second Aventine (*B*) and the Monte Cassino (*C*) redaction preserve the second part of the passage, thus proving that this was present in Canaparius’s lost original. Contrary to all this evidence, in his recent edition of the *Vita*, which is based exclusively on the defective mss. mentioned above, Jürgen Hoffmann printed the text without the second part of the prophetic dream.

⁵ Iohannes Canaparius.

⁶ Cf. Gal. 5:16 (*dico autem spiritu ambulate*) and 5:25 (*si uiuimus spiritu, spiritu et ambulemus*).

⁷ Lucan, *Phars.* 7.731.

⁸ Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 1.636–7 (*flexa sic omnia Tuscus/ inuoluens multaque tegens ambage canebat*); also Augustine, *Contra Faustum* 15.6 (*sententias suas nullis allegoricis ambagibus texeret*).

dit autem ipse: "Dic, si quid habes." "Vidi," inquit, "in medio altaris calicem aureum, et hunc uino semiplenum, custos uero eius nemo erat. Me itaque uolente bibere merum, opposuit se mihi minister altaris et audacibus meis ceptis uelut quadam imperiosa auctoritate contradixit, quia nec mihi, nec alicui hominum hanc licentiam dare uellet, pro eo quod tibi in crastinum pro mistica refectione foret seruatum." Hęc eo loquente, fugit somnus ab oculis et occupat trementia membra torpor ingens. "Deus," inquit, "fili, prosperet hunc uisum, fallaci somnio neminem credere oportet."

<30.> Iam exurgente purpureo die, ceptum iter agunt et Dauitico carmine uiam sibi abbreviant, et dulcis uite gaudium continuo appellant Christum. Inde nemora^{a, 1} et *feralia lustra*² linquentes, sole ascendente ad meridiem, campestria loca adierunt. Ibi fratre Gaudentio missam celebrante, sanctus ille monachus communicauit, et post sacram communionem pro alleuiando labore itineris pauxillum obsonii accepit. Et dicto uersu et sequenti psalmo, surgit *de gramineo cęspite*³ et quantum iactus est lapidis uel missus sagittę progressus, loco resedit. Hic cepit eum somnus et, quia diutini itineris fessus erat, pleno cornu profudit eum soporifera quies.⁴ Ad ultimum pausantibus cunctis, affuit paganicus furor et *irruerunt super eos*⁵ impetu magno, et iniecerunt omnes in uincula. Sanctus uero Adalbertus stans contra Gaudentium et alium fratrem ligatum: "Fratres," inquit, "nolite contristari! Scitis, quia hęc patimur

^a nemora omnes codd. red. Ottonianae: nemorosa tempe *Cs₁Cs₂NpCmVnBr*, n. temperie *Ad₁Lr*, n. tempore *Cc₁Cc₂*, n. tpe *Cc₃*

¹ Even though all mss. of the Ottonian redaction read here simply *nemora*, it is probable that the wording of Canaparius's lost original has survived untouched in the Monte Cassino redaction (*C*), which has *nemorosa tempe* "wooded, shaded dale" and in variously distorted versions in the second Aventine redaction (*B*) (for which, see the apparatus ad loc.). In fact, *nemorosa tempe* is yet another one of the poetical tags that appear so often in Canaparius's *Vita*; it goes back to Lucan, *Phars.* 8.1 (*super Herculeas fauces nemorosaque tempe*).

² Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 3.644–5 (*inter deserta ferarum lustra*) and also Georg. 2.461 (*saltus ac lustra ferarum*).

"I saw," the other said, "an altar and a golden chalice in its middle; it was half full with wine, but its keeper was nowhere in sight. Then, when I wanted to drink from it, the minister of that altar stood in my way and, as if with some supreme authority, prevented all my daring attempts, saying that he would grant permission neither to me nor to anyone else since it was reserved for you, for your mystical replenishment the next day." His words chased sleep away from Adalbert's eyes and his trembling limbs were seized by a deep, deep torpor. "God may make this vision come true, my son," he said, "no one should put faith in such deceitful dreams!"

30. The following morning had dawned all purple when they set off on their way, making their journey shorter with the help of Davidic song and never ceasing to invoke Christ, the joy of every well-pleasing life. Then, leaving behind them groves¹ and *haunts of wild beasts*,² when the sun was at midday, they arrived to some open country. There his brother Gaudentius celebrated mass and our holy monk partook of the holy communion; after this, he accepted a few bites of food just to ease the labor of the journey. Then, reciting a verse [of the Scriptures] as well as the psalm that followed it, he rose *from the grassy turf*,³ and went a little further—about a stone's or an arrow's throw—and sat down once more. Here he fell asleep and, since he was exhausted because of the long journey, sleep-bringing peace poured over him as if from a well-stocked horn.⁴ When, at last, they were all at rest, the pagan frenzy sprung up and [the Prussians] *rushed against them suddenly*,⁵ throwing them all into chains. Then, St. Adalbert, chained as he was back to back with Gaudentius and the other brother, said: "Brothers, do not lose heart! You know that we suffer this

³ Cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 11.564 (*gramineo donum Triuiæ de caespite uellit*).

⁴ Cf. Horace, *Epist.* 1.12.28 (*Italiae pleno defundit copia cornu*). The expression *soporifera quies* also appears in a liturgical prayer: *iam soporifera quies fessos reficit artus* (*Breuiarium Gothicum*, MPL vol. 86, col. 216B).

⁵ Josh. 11:7.

pro nomine Domini, cuius uirtus ultra omnes uirtutes, pulchritudo supra omnes decores, potentia inenarrabilis, pietas singularis. Quid enim forcius, quid eo pulchrius quam dulcem pro dulcissimo Ihesu¹ fundere uitam?" Prosilit ex furibundo agmine igneus sicco^{a, 2} et totis uiribus *ingens iaculum*³ mouens, transfixit eius penetralia cordis.⁴ Ipse enim, sacerdos idolorum et dux coniuratę cohortis, uelut ex debito *prima uulnera*⁵ facit. Deinde concurrerunt omnes et *uulnera miscentes*⁶ iram exsaturant. Profluit purpureus sanguis per foramina utriusque lateris; ille oculis ac manibus stat orans in cęlum. Exiit rubeus amnis *diuite uena*⁷ et extractę hastę septem *ingentia uulnera*⁸ pandunt. Ille uinclis solutis extendit manus in modum crucis et suppliciter fuis precibus pro sua et persecutorum salute ad Dominum clamat. Sic illa sancta anima carcere suo euolat; sic nobile corpus protenta cruce terram occupat; sic quoque multo sanguine uitam fundens,⁹ beatis sedibus et semper carissimmo tandem perfruitur Christo. O sanctum et beatissimum uirum, cuius in uultu angelicus splendor, in corde semper Christus erat! O pium et omni honore dignissimum, qui crucem, quam uoluntate semper et animo portauit, tunc etiam manibus et toto corpore complexus est! Accurrunt undique armis dira barbaries et nondum expleto furore auferunt corpori *nobile caput*¹⁰ et separant *exsanguia*

^a Sicco *LsLLAqRv₂ZfStOsCr*: siggo *WbHkZw₁Zw₂BgWdMlKn₁Kn₂Ad₂BbPr₂Pr₃*, *sicarius Rv₁*

¹ The original contains a wordplay difficult to render appropriately into English: *dulcem uitam / pro dulcissimo Iesu*; this plays very effectively on the double meaning of Lat. *dulcis* "sweet, well-pleasing" and "loved, dear."

² *Igneus sicco* may mean either "a red-haired killer" as translated here (in fact, ms. *Rv₁* reads *sicarius*, i.e., "bandit, murderer armed with a *sica*, a special sort of dagger"), or "a red-haired man called Sicco / Siggo" (many mss. treat it as a proper name), or even the name of a priestly rank among the pagan Prussians. For a discussion of the various opinions expressed on this issue, see Karwasińska's critical ed., 46, n. 166.

³ Statius, *Theb.* 12.103–4.

⁴ Lit. *penetralia cordis* "the innermost parts of [his] heart."

⁵ A poetic tag; cf. Ovid, *Metamorph.* 3.232; Lucan, *Phars.* 4.546.

⁶ Lit. *uulnera miscentes* "inflicting a large number of wounds at the same time amidst great confusion"; yet another poetic tag, for which, cf. Vergil, *Aen.* 12.720 and Lucan, *Phars.* 3.351.

for the name of the Lord, whose power is above all other powers, whose beauty is above all ornaments, whose might is beyond words, and whose mercy is unmatched. What can be so strong, what can be so beautiful as laying down a well-pleasing life for our most beloved Jesus?"¹ Out of that frenzied crowd a fiery red-haired assassin² sprang and, throwing *a huge spear*³ with all his force, pierced him deeply through his heart.⁴ That man, a priest of the idols and the leader of that sworn company, as if this were his duty, inflicted *the first wounds*.⁵ Then all the others came running and satiated their hatred by *heaping wound upon wound* amidst a great *mêlée*.⁶ Adalbert's purple blood gushed forth from the wounds on both sides; he stood upright, his hands and eyes turned to the sky, and prayed. A red river kept flowing, *a thick stream*,⁷ and, after the spears were taken out, seven *huge wounds*⁸ could be seen gaping open. When they untied him, he spread his arms in the form of the cross and cried out to the Lord with ample, imploring prayers for his own salvation and for that of his persecutors. In this way that saintly soul flew out of its prison; in this way his noble body, spread out in the shape of a cross, took hold of the earth; and, what is more, in this way, shedding much of his blood and his life with it,⁹ he could at last fully enjoy the blessed dwelling and [the company] of his most beloved Christ. Oh, holy and most blessed man, on whose face there was always an angelic splendor, in whose heart Christ was always present! Oh, pious [man] and most worthy of all honor, who embraced the cross, which he had always carried in his heart and in his thoughts, then also with his hands and with his entire body! Savage barbarians came running and armed from all sides and, with still unabated frenzy, cut off his *noble head*¹⁰ from the body and

⁷ Quoting again Horace, *Ars poetica* 409, this time in a very concrete, vivid image (cf. above, p. 103, n. 5).

⁸ Ovid, *Metamorph.* 13.537.

⁹ Cf. *Ilias Latina* 509 (*uoluitur et uitam calido cum sanguine fundit*).

¹⁰ Cf. Lucan, *Phars.* 7.709 (*nobile nec uictum fatis caput*).

membra.¹ Corpus uero loco dimittentes² caput palo fixerunt; et *lēto clamore*³ sua scelera laudantes, reuersi sunt unusquisque ad proprias sedes.

Passus est autem sanctus et gloriosissimus martyr Christi Adalbertus VIII Kalendas Mai,^{a,4} imperante rerum domino Ottonum tercio, pio et clarissimo cęsare, feria VI; scilicet ut qua die Dominus Ihesus Christus pro homine, eadem die homo ille pro Deo suo pateretur. Cuius est misericordia in seculum, honor, laus et imperium in secula seculorum. Amen.

^a Aprilis *LsWgRv₁Rv₂HkZw₁WdMLKn₁Kn₂*

¹ Adalbert's decapitation is painted in epic colors: for *exsanguia membra*, see Silius Italicus, *Punica* 7.678 (*membra pependerunt curuato exsanguia ramo*); *Ilias Latina* 997 (*deligat ad currum pedibusque exsanguia membra*).

² The place of St. Adalbert's martyrdom is called Cholinun/Cholinum in the *Passio of Tęgernsee* 2; for attempts to locate it on the ground, see Labuda, *Święty Wójciech*, 219, who, following previous literature, favors the village Pacholę near the river Dziergoń, which flows into Lake Drużno.

³ Vergil, *Aen.* 3.523. Cf. also Ovid, *Metamorph.* 17.729, Lucan, *Phars.* 5.47, Silius Italicus, *Theb.* 3.183.

chopped off his *bloodless limbs*.¹ They left the body in that place²; the head they impaled and, boasting of their crime *with joyful shouts*,³ they all returned to their dwellings.

And the holy and most glorious martyr of Christ, Adalbert, was martyred on the ninth day before the Kalends of May,⁴ when the emperor was lord Otto III, the faithful and most glorious Caesar, on a Friday; obviously, this happened so that on which day our Lord Jesus Christ had suffered for the sake of mankind, on that same day that man would suffer for the sake of his God. Whose is all mercy forever, the honor, the glory, and the power for ever and ever. Amen.

⁴ 23 April 997. This date is mistakenly given as “the ninth day before the Kalends of April” (i.e., 23 March) in the greatest part of the mss. tradition; such a dating contradicts the other chronological element present in this paragraph, namely *feria VI*: in 997, 23 March would have fallen on a Tuesday (*feria III*), more precisely, during the Easter week, an extraordinary coincidence which, given its symbolic potential, the author of the *Life* would have no doubt exploited more in depth. As it is, however, the reference to Christ’s Passion is connected simply to the fact that both Adalbert and Christ died on a Friday. For this interpretation, and a detailed discussion of other chronological details attested in the mss. tradition, see Karwasińska’s critical edition, 47, n. 170.



Fig. 4. *St. Adalbert of Prague, modern icon, S. Bartolomeo all'Isola, Rome*
(photo © Cristian Gașpar)

LIFE OF THE FIVE BRETHREN
BY BRUNO OF QUERFURT



Fig. 5. *Bruno's death, fresco from the monastery of the Holy Cross on Mountain Łysiec (Góry Świętokrzyskie) in Poland. Anonymous author.*

PREFACE

MARINA MILADINOV

The *Vita quinque fratrum* by Bruno of Querfurt is the main, although not the only source of information about the so-called Great Polish Hermitage, which may have been located at Międzyrzecz (Germ. Meseritz), a locality in today's western Poland that is still famous for its extensive forests and numerous lakes.¹ It is a piece of hagiography characterized by sophisticated rhetoric and abundant historical references, which reflect an outspokenly erudite author—in fact, one might say that this lengthy work reveals more about Bruno than about his subject.² Regarding the

¹ Another possible locality is today's Kazimierz near Gniezno; however, Tadeusz Wojciechowski plausibly argued against this location in his article "Eremitcy reguły św. Romualda, czyli benedyktyni Włoscy w Polsce jedenastego wieku" [Hermits of the rule of St. Romuald, Italian Benedictines in the eleventh-century Poland], in: *Szkice historyczne jedenastego wieku* [Historical Essays on the eleventh century] (Warsaw: Instytut wydawniczy "Biblioteka Polska", 1925), 15ff.

² The most exhaustive account of Bruno's life and thought remains that by Heinrich Gisbert Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt. Mönch, Eremit, Erzbischof der Heiden und Märtyrer* (Stuttgart: Steinkopf, 1907); plentiful additional information is supplied by Reinhard Wenskus, *Studien zur historisch-politischen Gedankenwelt Bruns von Querfurt* (Münster and Cologne: Böhlau, 1956); and recently this topic has been taken up by Ian Wood, e.g. in his book *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe, 400–1050* (London: Longman, 2001) and his article "Shoes and a Fish Dinner: The Troubled Thoughts of Bruno of Querfurt," in *Ego Trouble: Authors and Their Identities in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Richard Corradini et al. (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2010), 249–58. Cf. also Brygida Kürbis, "Purpureae passionis aureus finis: Bruno von Querfurt und die fünf Märtyrerbrüder," in *Europas Mitte um 1000*, ed. Alfried Wieczorek and Hans-Martin Hinz (Stuttgart: Konrad Theiss, 2000), 519–26; Edward Skibiński, "Bruno z Querfurtu – hagiograf i jego święci" [Bruno of Querfurt – a hagiographer and his saints], in: *Peregrinatio ad veritatem: Studia ofiarowane Profesor Aleksandrze Witkowskiej OSU z okazji 40-lecia pracy naukowej*, ed. Urszula Borkowska et al. (Lublin: Towarzystwo Naukowe Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego, 2004), 475–9; Jan Tyszkiewicz, *Brunon z Querfurtu w Polsce i krajach sąsiednich w tysiąclecie śmierci 1009-2009* [Bruno of Querfurt in Poland and the neighboring countries: On the millenium of his death 1009-2009] (Pułtusk: Akademia Humanistyczna imienia Aleksandra Gieysztor, 2009).

date of its composition, there are broadly two opinions: whereas Reinhard Kade argued that Bruno wrote the text in the second half of 1008 or at the very beginning of 1009, during his second stay at the hermitage and shortly before his martyrdom in Russia on February 14,¹ Walerian Meysztowicz considered that Bruno's first stay at the hermitage (1005 or 1006) would be a more probable date—although all these dates necessarily remain a matter of conjecture.² The sole extant manuscript of the *Vita quinque fratrum* was unearthed only in the nineteenth century by Otto Kade, and its authenticity, occasionally disputed at first, has meanwhile been generally accepted. The text is contained in a *legendarium* that has been dated to the very beginning of the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century, it was combined with several fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts into a codex that is today known under the name of its discoverer, Otto Kade.³

Bruno of Querfurt was born around 970 into a noble Saxon family. He was educated at the prestigious cathedral school of Magdeburg and entered the priestly orders there. Around the age of twenty, he was summoned to join the imperial entourage of Otto III, probably in order to become part of the network of *Reichsbischöfe*. However, during a campaign in which the young emperor showed himself particularly inclined towards the eremitic community of Romuald of Ravenna at Pereum, a number of *Teutonici* who were accompanying him experienced a conversion to this new type of eremitism, characterized by communal, regulated living, and asked for a permission to stay.

¹ Reinhard Kade, "Beschreibung eines Legendars," *Neues Archiv* 8 (1883): 365–7.

² Walerian Meysztowicz, "Szkice o św. Brunie-Bonifacym," *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium* 5 (1958): 480–5. This date has been generally accepted in modern scholarship, see Jan Tyszkiewicz, "Bruno of Querfurt and the Resolutions of the Gniezno Convention of 1000," *Quaestiones Mediaevi Novae* 5 (2000): 192.

³ *Vita quinque fratrum* occupies folios 21r–49v within the 110-folio *legendarium*. The codex is preserved in Staatsbibliothek Berlin under the signature *MS Theol. lat. oct.* 162. For the description of the codex, see Kade, "Beschreibung"; for an extensive history of the manuscript, see Walerian Meysztowicz, "La vocation monastique d'Otton III," *Antemurale* 4 (1958): n. 9, 52–5.

Bruno was among them, but unlike the others, he did not disappear into anonymity. Far from satisfying himself with the quiet life of a hermit, he began organizing a missionary enterprise to Poland, probably inspired both by the martyred bishop Adalbert of Prague, who had been likewise personally acquainted with Otto III and the news of whose martyrdom reached Italy in 997, and by Winfrid-Boniface, the “Apostle of the Germans,” who had been martyred in Frisia in 754 and probably inspired Bruno to take the monastic name of Boniface.

Preparations for this enterprise were slow and obstructed by adverse circumstances. Early in 1002, Otto III suddenly died in Italy, probably of malaria, and only a year afterwards he was followed by Sylvester II (Gerbert d’Aurillac), who had been a great supporter of the emperor’s ambition to create a Christian empire that would include the young states of Poland and Hungary. After their deaths, circumstances changed considerably: the popes to follow were candidates and puppets of the Crescentius family, which had been known for its opposition to Otto III, while the imperial throne was now in the hands of Henry II, who had no outspoken evangelizing ambitions and was, moreover, almost constantly at war with Bolesław Chrobry, duke of Poland, who had shown himself exceedingly supportive of the idea of the Great Hermitage.

Thus, even if the idea of the Polish mission may have been born soon after Adalbert’s death in 997, it was only after Otto III’s death that Bruno obtained the papal license for the mission from Sylvester II, at which time Henry II was already at war with Poland and there was no way for Bruno to reach the Polish hermitage. Making a large detour over Hungary and the area of lower Dniepr, Bruno dedicated himself to a mission among the “Black Hungarians” between the rivers Tisza and Mureș, and the Petchenegs, thus largely following in Adalbert’s footsteps. The brethren, however, were already in Poland: John and Benedict, two hermits from the Pereum community, and a number of Polish novices and lay brothers, among whom Matthew, Isaac, and Cristinus the cook gained fame as the famous “martyr brothers” of Bruno’s hagiography. By the time he finally reached the Polish hermitage, they were

dead, having been assassinated by robbers greedy for the treasure they believed hidden in their cells. Early in 1009, Bruno left for a mission to the region of the Prussians, where the pagans soon captured and beheaded him and his associates.

Nevertheless, his hagiography on the hermit brethren offers a glance into the way of life at the Polish hermitage, with information gathered from the community itself, which was still flourishing. Thus, we know that the two Italian brethren took to preparing their missionary activity with utmost care: they learned to “understand and speak quite well the Slavonic language,” and Benedict decided, after a discussion with John, “to cut all his hair and put on a male clothing, such as is worn by seculars, in order to win over with his appearance the eyes of the pagans.” The community was modeled upon the source hermitage of Pereum and some of its basic organizational and ascetic principles may be inferred from our knowledge of the Italian motherhouse. However, it must be kept in mind that we are not speaking here about the Camaldolese eremitism in a broader sense, which is a common mistake among those scholars who tend to draw their information from early modern historiography, since it often results in indiscriminate blending of early Romualdine and later Camaldolese eremitism in accordance with the largely biased medieval and modern histories of the order.

Let us have a brief look at those aspects of Romualdine organization for which there are reasons to believe that they were adopted and reiterated in the Polish hermitage.¹ The basic principle of Romualdine communities was the coexistence in the same location of coenobium and hermitage as the same organizational unit, which functioned towards the fulfillment of the same goal

¹ A relatively recent overview of the early history of the Romualdine communities has been offered by Cécile Caby, although her book is dedicated primarily to their later development: *De l'érémisme rural au monachisme urbain: les Camaldules en Italie à la fin du Moyen Âge* (Rome: École Française de Rome, 1999). Some pages have also been devoted to this issue by Piroska Nagy, *Le Don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution (Ve-XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000), 212–9. The following paragraphs are largely adapted from my book *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008), 94–114.

and was placed under the supervision of one abbot. The obligatory coenobitic training, prescribed in the *Benedictine Rule*, was thus restated and reinforced. However, the crucial difference lay precisely in the nature of this *coenobium*, since it was not intended for its own sake. A monk was, in fact, not a monk if not a future hermit: the period spent in common was just an active preparation, exercise, and gathering of spiritual forces for life in solitude. Its purpose was to train those qualities that would render the monk self-sufficient in a positive sense, qualities that would be absolutely indispensable in the hermitage, and that the prospective hermit would have had a firm grasp on by the time he reached that higher stage: discipline, humility and, in the first place, obedience. Also, asceticism was introduced gradually, in accordance with individual abilities and needs, for Romuald attributed great importance to the principle of the personal suitability of one's ascetic endeavors, striving thus to reduce to a minimum the possibility of a lapse back to a less perfect stage.¹

The brethren were left to themselves during most of the week, while the abbot lived secluded in his own cell, except for the days of common liturgy. This principle can be related to the highly interesting fact that Romuald modified the Eastern laureatic principle of fasting during the weekdays and meeting on Saturdays and Sundays. Peter Damian mentions several times that Romuald's tendency to moderation regarding his community caused him to consider the five-days continuous fasting as too harsh and that, moreover, the abbot's eremitic isolation left the brethren too long without any control.

The hermitages were located close together and formed a conglomeration of independent huts (*cellae*), connected through the person of the prior and the common liturgical practice on two days of the week. It appears that at Pereum there was an oratory

¹ It is interesting that Cosmas of Prague, a century later source reporting on the Great Hermitage, places a particular accent on the ascetic practices of the brethren, including austere fasting and corporal mortifications, obviously in order to cater for his readers' taste in the early twelfth century. *Cosmae Pragensis Chronica Bohemorum*, ed. Bertold Bretholz, in MGH SS n.s., 2d ed. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1923), 68–72.

in each cell. The centre of the hermitage, which thus resembled an Oriental *laura*, was a church or chapel, and the huts were constructed around it. Presumably they could be located further away if the particular hermit counted among the more experienced ones. This was evidently followed in Pereum, where Benedict's cell was located *longe intra silvam*, but also in the Polish hermitage, where the hut of the martyred brethren was obviously far enough away that nobody in the monastery heard what was happening.

There is evidence that hermits often lived two by two, the spiritual father and son together, and when Romuald visited his foundations, he usually accepted the hospitality of his favorite disciple.¹ With regard to this, it is possible that Benedict and John lived together with the two novices, Isaac and Matthew, in two cells or even in one, whereas the cook Cristinus simply served them and happened to be there by chance at their hour of martyrdom. In fact, it is possible that there were some members of the Romualdine communities who resembled lay brethren to a certain extent, and are attested in Fonte Avellana at the time of Peter Damian.²

Generally speaking, Romuald's communities did not engage in extreme ascetic practices. Apart from the prolonged fasting period, which has been mentioned above, there are no signs of corporeal laceration. As with the organizational principles, Romuald's accent was always on moderation and it appears that the regular and unswerving fulfillment of balanced requirements, the firmness, *quasi saxum*, in the moderate ascetic program, was preferred by far to any extraordinary endeavors, particularly those competitively motivated. Monastic discipline appears to have been of additional importance in the type of organization where the abbot was rarely present in exactly that part of the community which contained the "weaker" members.

¹ *Vita b. Romualdi*, 34, ed. Giovanni Tabacco (Rome: Istituto storico Italiano per il Medio Evo, 1957), 73.

² Peter Damian calls them *servi monasterii* in his *Opusculum* 15, 7, MPL 145, 342. They vowed permanent obedience and perseverance and observed a milder form of the same rule as the hermits.

In the early Middle Ages, it was not uncommon that hermits should end murdered by robbers, as they lived a secluded life and were believed to hoard treasures in their cells, brought to them by pious visitors. As I have argued elsewhere,¹ hagiographers often employed this motif in order to construct narratives of martyrdom, and Bruno is not an exception in this respect. Moreover, his work is not the only source of information that we have on the five brethren: another powerful and critical author who mentioned them was Peter Damian in his *Vita beati Romualdi*. Besides, the martyrdom of the five hermit brethren is also briefly mentioned in the *Chronica Bohemorum* by Cosmas of Prague, written in the second half of the twelfth century,² the *Rocznik Kamieniecki* from the thirteenth and the *Rocznik Świętokrzyski Nowszy* from the fourteenth century.³ Finally, there are sources which are considerably later (among which special attention should be given to the largely unreliable historiographical corpus of the Camaldolese order), and which occasionally mention the Polish hermitage. Nevertheless, Bruno's closeness to the events, his expressive style, and his obvious awareness that the five brethren never managed to realize their main goal, for which John and Benedict had even left Italy at his instigation, and that it was largely due to the fault of his delay, must have caused pangs of remorse that were relived in one of the most impressive hagiographic pieces of the early Middle Ages.

Bruno of Querfurt seems not to have been a prolific writer, which can be explained by the fact that he wrote only about the deeds and personalities related to the eastern missions. It is in the last period of his life that he produced the *Vita quinque fratrum*, as well as the other two pieces of writing which have come down to us: the two recensions of the life of martyr Adalbert and an

¹ "Hermits Murdered by Robbers: The Construction of Martyrdom in Ottonian Hagiography," *Annual of the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University* 6 (2000): 9–21.

² Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Bohemorum*, 38, MGH SSr G n.s. 2, 68.

³ *Rocznik kamieniecki*, a. 1003, MPH 2, 777; *Rocznik świętokrzyski do r. 1490*, a. 1003, MPH 3, 62.

admonishing letter addressed to Emperor Henry II about the latter's warfare against Bolesław Chrobry.¹ A comparison between his *Passio Adalberti* and Canaparius's *vita*, which is to be found in this volume, reveals Bruno's potent focus on martyrdom, which appears to have outpowered his considerations of the benefits of evangelization and served to prepare spiritually his own death at the hands of the pagans.² (See Fig. 5)

The *Vita quinque fratrum* has come down to us in a single text, preserved in a parchment *Passionale* that has been dated to the mid-twelfth century and probably originates from Saxony, perhaps Magdeburg. It was discovered in Dresden under unknown circumstances by Otto Kade in 1845 and remained in the possession of his family until around 1899, when it was transferred to Königliche Bibliothek (later Universitätsbibliothek) Berlin with the signature Theol. lat. Oct. 162.³ In the aftermath of World War II, it was relocated to Westdeutsche Bibliothek Marburg and today it forms part of Staatsbibliothek Berlin (Preußischer Kulturbesitz), where it is identified as possibly originating from Huysburg.⁴ The text has been edited by Otto's son Reinhard Kade in *Monumenta*

¹ *Passio s. Adalberti episcopi et martyris*, MPH 1, 189–222; *Ep. ad Heinricum regem*, MPH 1, 224–8. Another piece of writing has been attributed to Bruno by Johannes Fried: a dedicatory poem placed in front of a work by Frontinus and presumably written before Bruno's conversion to monastic life. Cf. Johannes Fried, "Brunos Dedikationsgedicht," *Deutsches Archiv* 43 (1987), 574–83. A number of scholars have stood up against this hypothesis, among others F. Haase, J. Fleckenstein and H. M. Klinkenberg, who have attributed it to Bruno, archbishop of Cologne; and Carl Erdmann, who proposed Gerbert of Reims as author (a summary of the debate is to be found in Fried's article).

² An extensive treatment of Bruno's "theology of martyrdom," as I have come to term it, can be found in my book *Margins of Solitude*, 70ff. See also Paolo Tomea, "La colpa e il martirio. Agiografia e autobiografia nella 'Vita quinque fratrum' di Bruno di Querfurt," in *San Romualdo. Storia, agiografia e spiritualità. Atti del XXIII Convegno del Centro Studi Avellaniti, Fonte Avellana 23-26 agosto 2000* (S. Pietro in Cariano: Gabrielli editori, 2002), 175–220.

³ Jadwiga Karwasińska, preface to the MPH edition, 13 and 23.

⁴ Andreas Fingernagel, *Die illuminierten lateinischen Handschriften deutscher Provenienz der Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin; 8.-12. Jahrhundert*, 2 vols. (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1991), vol. 1, 21–2.

Germaniae Historica, *Scriptores* 15 (1888), 709–738; in a revised version by Wojciech Kętrzyński in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* 6 (1893), 383–428; by Bernardo Ignesti in *Vita dei Cinque Fratelli* (Edizioni Camaldoli, 1951), 107–51, who took over the MPH version and added a Italian translation; and by Jadwiga Karwasińska in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, series nova 4/3 (1973), 27–84. This latter edition has been reproduced here with a few minor emendations, which have been marked in footnotes to the Latin text with the abbreviation *Karw.* Unlike the other legends in the present volume which appear here in English translation for the first time, there does exist a quite recent but difficult to obtain English translation of this legend of Bruno by Thomas Matus.¹ Our translation had already been completed when this came to our knowledge, and because of the importance of the legend of the Five Brethren in Central European hagiography, we decided to stick to our original plan and include this new translation in the present anthology.

¹ Thomas Matus, *The Mystery of Romuald and the Five Brothers: Stories from the Benedictines & Camaldolese* (Trabuco Canyon, CA: Source Books, 1994).

UITA UEL PASSIO SANCTORUM BENEDICTI ET
IOHANNIS, SOCIORUMQUE SUORUM,
EDITA A BRUNONE EPISCOPO, QUI ET
BONIFACIUS DICITUR.



LIFE OR PASSION OF SAINT BENEDICT, SAINT
JOHN, AND THEIR COMPANIONS, COMPOSED
BY BISHOP BRUNO, WHO IS ALSO CALLED
BONIFACE

INCIPIT PROLOGUS IN UITAM UEL PASSIONEM
SANCTORUM BENEDICTI ET IOHANNIS,
SOCIORUMQUE SUORUM,
EDITA A BRUNONE EPISCOPO, QUI ET
BONIFACIUS DICITUR

Adiuua Deus, ut magna paruus ingenio narrare ualeam! surgat uerbum, ratio et sensus! loquens loquatur os meum sancta sanctorum, qui post album cor et opus bonum acceperunt purpureę passionis aureum finem. Nec nunc damnes, Ihesu bone, quod iusticiam istorum nominare audeo, qui occidentium me scelerum stercore mortuus canis dudum feteo, et in peccatorum meorum crasso luto, heu me, sordida sus delectabiliter iaceo.¹ Si pauper ingenio, nullus in actu, male bona dico, ignoscite, queso, iudices, quorum quadam extrema karitate ductus, hoc presumo. Monstrum ego dissidentium morum, si canere nequeo optima, uel latrare uolo. Damnatio est, uidens et sciens sancta ut silentio preteream. Et certe, dum intingimus que loquimur in calamo mentis, interim non mala cogitare, nec operari uacat. Interdum minus iuuat bona dicere, semper autem dictare plurimum iuuat. Si asinus loquitur potencias et misericordias Domini,² cur homines non loquantur, quos per prophetam in spiritu paruulus puer minat,³ monens salutem habentibus sollicitudinem recte uiuendi?

Misimus prelocutionis spem, eamus iam ad rem. Nunc opus est digito Dei. Veniat uerbum de celo, auxilium a Domino qui fecit cęlum et terram, plasmans una manu peccatorem et sanctum.⁴ Iube mihi, Domine, benedicere, iube et benefacere. Da et adiuua,

¹ Cf. 2 Pet. 2: 22: *contigit enim eis illud veri proverbiū canis reversus ad suum vomitum et sus lota in volutabro luti.*

² Cf. Num. 22: 28–30.

³ Cf. Isa. 11: 6: *habitabit lupus cum agno et pardus cum hedo accubabit vitulus et leo et ovis simul morabuntur et puer paruulus minabit eos.* Cf. also 1 Sam. 1–3.

⁴ Cf. Ps. 118: 73: *manus tuę fecerunt me et plasmaverunt me.*

HERE BEGINS THE PROLOGUE TO THE LIFE
OR PASSION OF SAINT BENEDICT, SAINT JOHN
AND THEIR COMPANIONS, COMPOSED
BY BISHOP BRUNO, WHO IS ALSO CALLED
BONIFACE

Help me, o God, so that I may have the power to relate great things though small in wit; let the word, the reason, and the feelings arise; let my mouth speak and tell the saintly deeds of the saints who, with their white hearts and good work, achieved the golden end of crimson martyrdom! And do not condemn me, good Jesus, for daring to speak about their righteousness, me, who for long now stinks as a dead dog with the muck of the crimes that are killing me and in the thick mire of my sins, woe to me! I joyfully wallow like a dirty sow.¹ If I tell good things badly because of my miserable wit, I, who am nothing when it comes to deeds, pardon it, I pray, you judges, since in a way I presume to undertake this led by my tremendous love for you. For even if I, a horrible display of disagreeable customs, am not able to sing about these wonderful things, at least I will bark them out. But it is damnable when I have seen and known these saintly things to pass over them in silence. And besides, while we paint our words with the pen of our mind, we have no leisure to think or do bad things. Occasionally, it helps little to say good things; but it always helps greatly if one writes them down. If an ass has spoken of our Lord's might and mercy,² why should men not speak, whom a boy, so small in spirit, has rebuked through the prophet,³ exhorting to salvation those who feel the urge of righteous living?

We have expressed our hopes for this prologue; let us now proceed to the subject! What we need now is God's finger. Let the word come from heaven, let the help come from the Lord, who has created heaven and earth, molding the sinner and the saint with the same hand.⁴ Command me, o Lord, to speak well, and also command to do well! Give and help, you who restore innocence, that I should

restitutor innocencię, ut bene dicam et bene agam, et custodi in finem ualde misero mihi peccatori, Redemptor eterne mundi, meliorem uitam. Exaltare *cornu salutis*,¹ Deus noster, tu super me adtende, fac et festina.² Auxiliator hominum, benigne Ihesu, dic, Deus meus, iuua, misericordia mea. Ita dic: Complens complebo opera mea, peruerse peccator, circa te, ne timeas plus iusto; post certas hyemes³ ego desiderata redemptio tua, *uita comite*⁴ uenio ad te. Ergo, quia in manibus nunc est candida et odorifera uita sanctorum martyrum,⁵ succurre tuo more tu propter bonitatem tuam, Domine, succurre ad utraque, semper salutare Dei, qui omnipotens es. Da uires bene loquendi, o utinam et bene operandi, *neque irrideant me inimici mei*,⁶ edificare cepisse, cum me uiderint in multitudine misericordię⁷ et ueritate salutis tuę, pie Galilee, ad calcem peruenisse. Itaque Petrus apostolus tuus et martyres loquantur pro me. Saluator magne, in periculo maris miserans miserere propter te. Fac finem angustię meę, *dic animę meę: Salus tua ego sum*.⁸

INCIPIT PASSIO SANCTORUM BENEDICTI ET JOHANNIS AC SOCIORUM EORUNDEM.

[I]

Quem res loquitur bene uenisse, sanctus iste de Beneuento uenit,⁹ quem finis canit bene isse, et bene uixisse. Benedictus ab infanzia Christo philosophari cepit.¹⁰ Habens bonum ingenium sacras

¹ Ps. 17: 3; Luke 1: 69.

² Cf. Ps. 69: 2: *Deus in adiutorium meum intende, Domine ad adiuuandum me festina.*

³ Cf. Horace, *Carmina* I, 15, 35: *Post certas hiemes uret Achaicus ignis Iliacas domos.*

⁴ Gen. 18: 14: *Revertens veniam ad te tempore isto, uita comite.*

⁵ Cf. *Vita S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi altera, auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, red. long.*, c. 31: *Ceteri sancti quamuis candidam et odoriferam uitam ante oculos Dei habuerint....*

⁶ Ps. 24: 3.

speak well and act well, and guard for me, a most miserable sinner, a better life in the end, o eternal Redeemer of the world! Be praised, *horn of our salvation*,¹ Our Lord! Watch over me! Do it and hasten!² O helper of men, benevolent Jesus, speak out, my God, help, my mercy! Say it this way: "I will accomplish my deeds around you, you corrupt sinner, fear no more than you should! After some winters,³ I, your desired redemption, will return to thee, *life accompanying*."⁴ There, since the white and sweet-smelling life of the holy martyrs⁵ is now in my hands, come to my aid in your way out of your goodness, o Lord, come to my aid in both things, you who are forever God's deliverance, you who are almighty! Give me the power to speak well, ah and to act well too! *Neither let my enemies laugh at me*⁶ for having begun this edifice, as they will see me having accomplished it through your abundant mercy⁷ and the truth of your salvation, you kindly Galilean. And so let Peter, your apostle, and the martyrs speak for me. O great Savior, have mercy upon me for your own sake, you who show mercy in the perils of the sea! Put an end to my distress! *Say to my soul: I am thy salvation*.⁸

HERE BEGINS THE PASSION OF SAINT BENEDICT, SAINT JOHN AND THEIR COMPANIONS.

[I]

As the story tells, the holy man Benedict came from Benevento and came well,⁹ and his end sings that he walked well and lived well. He began to philosophize in Christ¹⁰ from his childhood.

⁷ Cf. Ps. 50: 3: *miserere mei Deus secundum magnam misericordiam tuam et secundum multitudinem miserationum tuarum*.

⁸ Ps. 34: 3.

⁹ *Beneventus* = the one who came well, who is welcome.

¹⁰ *Christo philosophari* or *in Christum philosophia* was a term denoting Christian life of special effort, or asceticism; cf. the *Asceticon* of Saint Nilus of Rossano, which bore the same subtitle.

litteras didicit, habens castos mores puericiam feliciter expleuit. Cum necdum adultus fuisset, sollicitudo parentum errauit, et dum expectare amantibus longum uidetur, quod in sua potestate non erat, ab episcopo terrę presbiter ordinatur.¹ In qua ordinatione cum oblata esset pecunia, per congruam penitentiam ipse post satisfecit; qui non solum inter canonicos laudabiliter uiuit, sed Dei spiritu tactus sæculum cum suis pompis dereliquit toto animo.² Adhuc in adolescentię annis albę continentię manus dedit, seruans uirginitatem nimio zelo, cuius nouerat esse singulare præmium cęlo. Cum autem Deo placuit, ut monachus esse deberet, ad monasterium sancti Saluatoris in periculo maris situm regulam matrem inuenit,³ cuius duro imperio et amaro seruicio eo libens colla subdidit, quo hanc nutricem Dei seruorum magna dulcedine sequente cognouit. Exinde inter monachos admirabili uita micans, ita intra paucos annos crescere potuit, ut etiam per consensum de abbate heremiticam uitam singulari cella ducere non prohiberetur,⁴ quamuis indomitus feruor quem in eo Spiritus Sanctus accendere cepit, infirmitatem fratrum et tepidam conuersationem pati non dimitteret, et^a desertum petere coegisset.⁵ Ergo dimissa terra natiuitatis suę montem illum adiit, de quo dictum est in carminibus gentilium:

*Vides ut alta Senacteis stet candida niue.*⁶

^a et *Kętrziński con.*: et propter c.

¹ Simony, or offering money to the church in exchange for an ecclesiastical office, was a widespread practice in the eleventh century and criticized by the reforming spirits of the time, above all by Peter Damian. Since there is no precise date given, it is impossible to determine to which bishop this passage refers.

² Various sins, also those of the parents, could be expiated by a certain number of years spent in a monastery. The penitent remained a layman during this period, but it was not unusual that he felt a vocation for the monastic life and took on a habit. For example, Romuald of Ravenna first entered the monastery in order to expiate a murder committed by his father.

³ That is, the Benedictine Rule.

⁴ Benedictine Rule regarded eremitism as the more advanced stage of coenobitic monasticism, but suitable only for the experienced, whose soul would not be endangered by solitary life and the lack of immediate control. Therefore, a prospective hermit first

As he was intelligent, he learned the Holy Scriptures; and as his nature was chaste, he passed happily through the boyish age. But before he reached the maturity, the concern of his parents went astray and, as to those who loved him it seemed too long to await what was not in their power, he was ordained priest by the bishop of the land.¹ Since money was offered for his ordination, he afterwards gave satisfaction for it by appropriate penitence; and he not only lived a praiseworthy life among the canons, but also was touched by the spirit of God and, with all his heart, abandoned the world and its splendor.² He passed the years of adolescence in white continence and guarded his virginity with great zeal, since he knew that it led to singular reward in heaven. And when it pleased God that he should become a monk, he found the mother rule³ at the monastery of San Salvatore in Periculo Maris and willingly bowed his neck to its hard command and bitter service, whereby he experienced through the great sweetness that ensued that it nurtured servants of God. And glowing among the monks with his admirable life, he was able to grow so much in a few years that the abbot even agreed to grant him the permission to live as a hermit in a separate cell,⁴ although the untamed fervor which the Holy Spirit began to light up in the young monk did not allow him to bear the infirmity of the brethren and their tepid way of life, and had moved him to seek the desert.⁵ Thus, Benedict left the land of his birth and set off to the mountain of which a pagan poem says:

*See, how it stands, one pile of snow, Senacteis?*⁶

had to spend a minimum of three years in the coenobitic community, after which the abbot could decide whether he would permit him to retreat into the “desert”, that is, to a solitary location. However, the hermit remained under the jurisdiction of his monastery and was not allowed to settle further than at a walking distance from it.

⁵ Saint Benedict himself had sought the desert because he could not stand the lax discipline and the lack of fervor that reigned in his monastery of Vicovaro; and Romuald abandoned the monastery of Classis for the same reason.

⁶ Cf. Horace, *Carm.* I, 9, 1: *Vides ut alta stet nive candidum Soracte*. The name Senacteis is otherwise not attested and obviously a corruption.

Ubi etiam quondam pius Silvester, dum uim persecutionis fugeret, lectionibus uacando latitabat, post uocante bono nuncio cum leticia rediturus et extra spem magnam Romam cum rege Constantino baptizaturus intrauit.^{a,1} Eo monte ceu recordari possum ipso dicente, districtam uitam et austeram abstinentiam tribus ferme annis ita duxit Benedictus, ut pene eum nulla temptatio preteriret; quem postea ipse laudare solebat abbas suus, et cum clementia et amore reuocare curauit. Cui etiam non longe a monasterio cellam posuit, in qua cum quadam dulcedine, quam dat suis amatoribus sine inuidia Deus, eandem heremiticam uitam leuius et gloriosius egit.

[II]

Erat autem in monte Cassino² quidam nobilis senex, nomine Iohannes,³ qui cum duce Veneticorum desideranti monachicam uitam meliora delectatus regna terrarum cum diuiciis proiecit, monachicum uero habitum tanta perfectione assumpsit, ut sub spirituali patre militans, ab ipso inicio heremiticam uitam assumeret. Sed, patre monasterii mortuo, cum dux Veneticorum habitum quem accepit in Dei seruicio terminasset, ille supradictus senex Iohannes iuxta iam dictum montem ita ut gloriosus habebatur in uirtutibus solitariam uitam tenere satis egregie perseuerauit. Huius sacro collegio sepius iungi Benedictus iste consuevit, et ne in suo arbitrio erraret, uiuere in cella non stulte cogitauit. Senex uero Iohannes humilitatem custodiens, dum salutem doceret, uite consilia et celestia uerba que sibi dabat, de discretione et perfectione magistri

^a intrauit *om*, Schaer.

¹ Silvester I was on the papal throne from 314–335 and was traditionally held to have baptised Emperor Constantine. See *Vita s. Silvestri*, AASS, 31st December, 9.

² Monte Cassino, Benedictine monastery situated on a hill some 130 kilometres south of Rome, was founded by St Benedict around 529. By the eleventh century, it had reached the pinnacle of its fame and influence, exporting monks to its new foundations.

³ This was Doge Peter I Orseolo, who abdicated in 978 in order to become a monk as a direct result of the persuasion of several prominent ascetics: Romuald, his spiritual fa-

Once upon a time, pious Sylvester was hiding there as well, fleeing from the violence of persecution, devoted to his reading. Afterwards, when the good messenger summoned him, he returned with joy and unexpectedly entered great Rome to baptize King Constantine.¹ On that mountain, as I can recall Benedict saying, he led a strict life and practiced austere abstinence for around three years, and scarcely any temptation spared him; and later, his abbot praised him and took care to bring him back with mildness and love. And he set up a cell for him, not far from the monastery, in which Benedict led his eremitic life more lightly and yet more gloriously, enjoying a certain sweetness that God gives generously to those who love him.

[II]

In Monte Cassino,² there was a noble old man by the name of John, who as the doge of Venice longed for the monastic life, threw away the kingdoms of this world, together with their riches, as he was attracted to better things,³ and assumed the monastic habit with such perfection that, serving under a spiritual father, he set upon the eremitic life from the very beginning. But as the abbot of the monastery died and the doge of Venice was done with the monastic habit that he had received in the service of God, the above mentioned old man John continued to live his solitary life ever so splendidly on that same mountain, and he was glorified for his virtues. Benedict often used to seek his holy company and not unwisely thought about living in a cell, lest he should fall in error in his discretion. But the old man John, preserving his humility while teaching salvation, admitted to Benedict that the advice and the heavenly words he was telling him originated from the

ther Marinus, and Guarinus, the abbot of the monastery of St Michael at Cusan, which had been reformed from Cluny. The group that left for Cusan comprised also the doge's relatives John Morosini and John Gradenigo, the latter being the old man mentioned in the present text (to be differentiated from Benedict's later eremitic companion John).

Romaldi¹ descendere fatebatur dicens: Hic, inquit, Romaldus, primus nostrorum temporum non propria presumptione, sed secundum *Collationes* patrum heremitarum per pulchra sublimia humilitate magna uiuit, et que est recta uia, nos instruxit.² Exarsit iuuenis Benedictus, dum sepe Iohannes magistrum Romaldum laudaret, et mirabatur, quod qui magister in hac uita esse potuit, se habere magistrum fateretur. Hic tamen Romaldus bonę erat etatis, et in illa prouincia mirę et inaudite uirtutis. Non post multos dies quem pietate nulli secundus rex Otto, ultimus,³ ui ab heremo traxit et in Classi abbatem posuit. Videns sibi quietem et puritatem defecisse hic ipse Romaldus, pastorem uirgam in conspectu imperatoris proiecit, hoc faciens, ne forsitan se perderet, qui alium lucrari non potuit, et ab his qui se familiariter cognouerant, longius secedere temptauit, ut in amico secreto saltem se solum saluaret, qui propter inquietudinem seclarium in illo monasterio nullum lucrum animarum facere meruit. Nec mora, unde fons et origo regularium monachorum surrexit, ad Cassinum similis fugienti uenit. Cui ad sui causam non parua occasio ueniendi hec erat, ut longo tempore non uisum Iohannem collegam presentia uisitaret et colloquio animaret. Cuius inter cetera bona hec singularis uirtus agnita est, ut nec ipse loqui, nec audire posset uerba detractionis loquentem. Ut fama uenit Romaldum patrem rationabilium heremitarum qui cum lege uiuunt uenisse,⁴ quasi cui bona fortuna se sponte obtulit, de loco suo Benedictus simpliciter Romaldum querere ascen-

¹ Romuald of Ravenna (c. 950–1023/27 traditionally) was a Ravenna-born ascetic who became a major figure in the eleventh-century monastic revival and the founder of an order that would later be called Camaldolese. Before founding the monastery of Camaldoli, Romuald was leading an eremitic community on the island of Pereum in the marshes of the Po estuary, where John, Benedict and Bruno were all trained in asceticism.

² *Conversations* (*Collationes*) by John Cassian (written around 419–426) were a preferred reading at the abbey of Cusan, where Romuald presumably got acquainted with them and envisioned his new type of organised eremitism, see Preface.

³ Otto III (980–1002, king from 983, emperor from 996) was closely connected to the circle of hermits around Romuald of Ravenna and himself practised sporadic retreats into solitude for the purpose of penitence and purification. Thus, for example, we read in *Vita Burchardi episcopi Wormatiensis* 3 (MGH SS 4, 833) that in 998/9, at the instigation of Romuald, the emperor undertook a pilgrimage to Mount Gargano *nudis pedibus*, and later in the same year, he retreated to a cave near Rome

discretion and perfection of master Romuald,¹ and he said: "This Romuald is the first in our times who has been living not by his own presumption, but according to the *Conversations* of the hermit fathers, in great humility albeit on splendid heights, and he has taught us which is the right way."² Young Benedict was inspired by the fact that John frequently praised master Romuald and wondered how a man who could be a master in this way of life claimed having a master himself. And this Romuald was of a good age and known in that province as a man of wondrous and unprecedented virtue. Soon afterwards, the last Emperor Otto,³ second to none in piety, took him forcibly from his hermitage and appointed him the abbot of Classis. As Romuald saw that his quiet and purity were gone, he threw away the pastoral staff before the emperor, lest perchance he should lose himself where he could not win over others; and he sought to distance himself further from those who were familiar to him in order to save at least himself in friendly concealment, given the fact that in such a monastery, with all the coming and going of laypeople, he had not been granted to win over any souls. Nor did he tarry; but practically fled to Monte Cassino, the very source and origin of regular monasticism. And he also had a personal reason, and not an unimportant one, namely to visit personally his companion John, whom he had not seen for a long time, and to enliven him with conversation. Among other good things, John was known for a singular virtue, namely that he would neither speak nor listen to words of detraction. As the word spread that Romuald, the father of the reasonable hermits who lived according to a rule,⁴ had come, Benedict felt as if good luck was offering itself of its own accord, so just where he was, he mounted his horse and hastened in search of Romuald. And when he found him, he could no longer be torn

together with Bishop Frank of Worms and engaged there in prayer and ascetic exercise; and the present text speaks amply about his alleged intention to abdicate and become a hermit. Otto died without heirs and this is what *ultimus* probably refers to.

⁴ Apparently, Romuald did not leave a written rule for his communities, but a series of precepts like the one quoted at the end of this work. The first *Constitutiones* refer to the community of Camaldoli, founded in 1027, and were written down by its prior Rudolph some fifty years later.

so equo festinauit. Quo inuento, ab eius latere amplius auelli non potuit, eo arcius diligens eum, quo quibus parcere non nouit de suis uiciis increpare eum et castigare seuerissime ex industria procurabat. Gratulatur Benedictus, tandem se inuenisse magistrum, nil credens iustum, nil sanctum, nisi quod ille diceret, mortificans cum imperio uoluntates, et ambulans cum desiderio iuxta monita asperi præceptoris. Hunc Benedictum ita laudauit magister Romaldus, ut in ieiuniis et uigiliis quasi saxum esse affirmaret, et propter innocentiam obediencię et castitatem morum in quibus teste Deo delectabiliter ambulauit, merito eum mihi et omnibus mirabiliter predicauit. Mox ut autumnus uenit, qui morbos generare solet, abbas Romaldus sic grauem infirmitatem incurrit, ut uix mortem declinaret. Cui donec recuperaretur inuicta bonitate inter ceteros seruientes Benedictus ad uoluntatem seruiuit. Inde ut sanitas rediit, recolligens iter, egram Romam intrauit. In cuius fido seruicio humilitatis et obediencię aurem, flos ipse, uir desideriorum Benedictus coniunxit. Nam cui gratia perfectionis adhesit, quomodo abeuntem senem dimittere posset? Qui pro cuius inexpleto desiderio omne durum et amarum non sensit, Dei amore totis ossibus arsit. Cum ergo Romam ueniret et de sancto Adalberto,¹ ad quem orationis causa perrexit Otto, imperator, religionis amator,² ex studio reuertetur, falso gaudio, sed magno tripudio Quiritum receptus est. Eius uero ingressum ingens tempestas secuta est, et que misero presagio malum quod futurum erat prenunciauere, insolenti inundatione repentina pluuias, et maiore periculo horrida tonitrua surrexere. Ergo abbas Romaldus qui cum ad multa loca quasi uagus uadat, semper tamen filios congregat *in digito Dei*,³ ablatis duobus quorum amor tetigit uiscera cesaris, quorum unus uocabatur Benignus, alter Thomas,⁴ cum leticia grandi ad auream heremum Deo seruire regressus est. Ceperunt florere in illa heremo studia christianę philosophię et descendente Spiritu Sancto uirescere corda fratrum

¹ Adalbert, bishop of Prague, suffered martyrdom in 997; see the preceding Life in this volume.

² That is, from his pilgrimage to Gniezno in 1000.

³ Luke 11: 20.

from his side and cherished him ever stronger as Romuald did all he could to scold him for his vices, which he would not pardon, and to punish him most severely on purpose. Benedict was glad that he had found a master at last, believing that nothing was right or sacred except what Romuald said, and he mortified his will imperiously and eagerly followed the admonishments of his harsh mentor. And master Romuald praised Benedict so much that he claimed him to be like a rock in fasting and vigils; and because of the innocent obedience and chaste behavior, in which he walked with joy, as God is witness, Romuald deservedly recommended him in extraordinary terms, to me and to all the others. Later, as autumn came, which commonly brings on illnesses, abbot Romuald fell so gravely sick that he barely escaped death. And Benedict distinguished himself among all the other servants by nursing him readily and in unsurpassed kindness until he recovered. Then, as Romuald regained his health, he resumed his way and entered the ailing Rome. And while faithfully serving him, Benedict, that flower, the man of desires, joined the duty of obedience to humility. For how could he allow the old man to go away when he was attached to him by the grace of perfection? And when his insatiable desire for him made him insensitive to all hardships and bitterness, and he was burning with love of God in every bone? By that time, Emperor Otto, lover of the faith, had also reached Rome, having returned keenly from the shrine of Saint Adalbert,¹ where he had gone to pray,² and he was received by the citizens with feigned joy, albeit with great pomp. His entry was followed by a huge storm and, as if in miserable omen of misfortune that lay ahead, there was unaccustomed flooding from a sudden rainfall, as well as more dangerous and terribly resounding thunder. In the meantime, Abbot Romuald went to many places, as if aimlessly, but always collecting new sons *by the finger of God*,³ and, having taken away two from the emperor, who loved them to the depths of his heart—one was called Benignus, the other Thomas⁴—he returned with great joy to his golden solitude in order to serve God.

⁴ Thomas or Tammo was brother of the bishop of Hildesheim, Bernward, mentioned in *Vita b. Romualdi*, 25 (ed. by G. Tabacco, 52–53).

ac in timore Dei folia uirtutum et poma sanctitatis producere. Mouet inuidiam diabolus quieti seruorum Dei, quia Roma, cui prope stat hec heremus, dedignata non sic promerentem benignum cesarem Ottonem, dum repudiaret, pro uerecundia, Rauennam petere coegit. Sed ne heremum¹ uisitaret, quomodo bonus cesar se abstinere posset, in cuius mente contemptus sæculi multos dies iacebat, et amor Dei plus quam in aliquo monacho uirtutem habebat? Nunc media nocte, nunc clara die solitarios uisitare uenit, hoc tamen in Dei silentio et quod spirituales res crescere facit, sub fidei silentio preciosum animal ita egit, ut extra quos ipse tali labori dignos socios iudicauit, quamuis iter regis difficile lateat, nemo facile hoc in palacio sciret. Sed secundum illud: *Ubi fuerit corpus, illuc congregabuntur aquilæ*,² non ualentem et non uolentem latere regem, sequuntur populi. Turbata est ualde uita contemplatiua, et dum ille ad nos, aut nos uocamur ad illum, ad nihilum redacta heremus perdidit ordinem suum, sicut et tunc ipse Romam et olim Roma perdidit mundum. Erat autem sponsio regis, ut que non amans sine fructu possedit, pro desiderio Ihesu Christi regno et diuiciis sponte caret, et quia aduersa que ad salutem dirigere solent homines instabant, coram certis testibus in conspectu Dei et angelorum mentem quam dudum habuit, uerbis patefecit, *ut in ore duorum et trium testium stet omne uerbum*.³ Ex hac hora promitto Deo et sanctis eius: post tres annos, intra quos^a imperii mei errata corrigam, meliori meo regnum dimittam, et expensa pecunia quam mihi mater pro hereditate reliquit, tota anima nudus sequar Christum.⁴ Unus

^a quo Karw.

¹ The hermitage in question is that of Pereum, not the one nearby Rome mentioned in the previous sentence.

² Luke 17: 37. Cf. Matt. 24: 28.

³ Matt. 18: 16. Cf. Deut. 19: 15.

⁴ Two independent sources mention the intended abdication of Otto III: *Vita quinque fratrum* and *Vita b. Romualdi* by Peter Damian. The authenticity episode has been much discussed in scholarly literature, particularly in view of the fact that there was no heir to the imperial throne. The expression *nudus sequi Christum* and its varieties are often found in Jerome, e.g. in *Ep. LII Ad Nepotianum* 5, MPL 22, 531 (*nudam crucem nudus sequor*), *Ep. LVIII Ad Paulinum*, MPL 22, 580 (*nudam crucem nudus sequens*), and *Ep. CXXV Ad Rusticum monachum*, MPL 22, 1085 (*nudum Christum nudus sequere*).

Studies of Christian philosophy began to flourish in that hermitage and, as the Holy Spirit descended, the hearts of the brothers thrived, putting forth, in fear of God, leaves of virtue and fruits of sanctity. But the tranquility of the servants of God was interrupted by the devil's envy, and Rome, nearby which that hermitage was situated, rejected with disdain the benevolent Emperor Otto, who had not deserved such treatment, and forced him to retreat to Ravenna—ah what shame! And how could the good emperor keep from visiting the hermitage,¹ when contempt for the world had for many days resided in his mind and his love of God was stronger in him than in any monk? Now in the middle of the night, now in plain daylight, he went over to visit the solitaries; he did this, though, in godly silence and under this silence of faith that makes spiritual things grow, the precious being acted in such a way that, apart from those whom he judged as worthy companions in such ventures, nobody in the palace could easily gain any idea about it, although the movements of a king are difficult to conceal. But according to the saying: *Where the body shall be, thither will the eagles also be gathered together*,² people followed the king, who neither could nor would hide. The contemplative life was much disturbed; and since he was either coming to us or we were summoned to him, the hermitage was reduced to nothing and lost its order, just as the emperor himself earlier had lost Rome and Rome once had lost the world. And the king made a solemn promise that he would willingly renounce all that he owned, since all that he possessed without love and without profit, namely his kingdom and his wealth, for the desire of Jesus Christ; and since adversity, which often directs people towards salvation, was pressing upon him, he expressed outspokenly and in the presence of trustworthy witnesses, and before God and the angels, the intention that he had long harbored, so *that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every word may stand*³: “At this very hour, I promise before God and his saints: in three years, in which I will correct the errors of my empire, I will hand over the kingdom to a better man than myself and, having distributed the money that my mother has left to me in heritage, I will follow Christ naked with all my heart.”⁴ Abbot Romuald, one of those present, whom his old age and long-lasting virtue induced

adstantium quem senectus et longa uirtus fari coegit, uoce duorum discipulorum abbas Romaldus respondit: In hac uoluntate permanes, o rex, et si incerta uita hominis hoc tempus non dabit tibi, tu tamen ante oculos eius factum habes, qui scit que uentura sunt, et qui exterius opera iudicat, interius secundum hominum corda.

Huius rei gratia fratres ex heremo, qui essent feruentes spiritu in Sclauoniam¹ dirigere gloriosus cesar cogitauit, ut ubi pulchra silua secretum daret, in christiana terra iuxta terminum paganorum monasterium construerent, essentque tripla commoda querentibus uiam Domini, hoc est: nouiter uenientibus de sæculo desiderabile cenobium, maturis uero et Deum uiuum sicientibus aurea solitudo, cupientibus *dissolui et esse cum Christo*² euangelium paganorum. Interim ut duplum bonum esset hic, ubi tercium esse non potuit, in inicio de nostra heremo ad salutem plurimorum sancta uoluntate cenobium construere aggressus est, quamuis pro peccatis nostris hoc opus in contrariam partem laberetur, dum—ut in fine apparet—et heremum perdidit, et monasterium non fecit. Plerique uidentes que fiebant, auariciam patris Romaldi esse dicebant et scandalizabantur in eo, nescientes pensare eius cēlestem animum, qui et in bono opere salutem imperatoris intendebat, et in monasterii utilitate animarum lucrum aucupabat. Qui Romaldus cum esset uir contemplator et uere seruus Dei, hoc mirabile in suis moribus habuit, quod displicere hominibus per studium querebat, tunc se magnum existimans, et uirtutem suam custodire se posse cogitans, cum saluo animo talem rem egit, unde infamiam, opprobria et detractones hominum in se conuertere posset. Huius recta cogitatio cum iuuenem Benedictum adeo dilexisset propter eius perfectionem et pulcherrimas uirtutes, tam nobis in heremo quam in nouo monasterio quod cesar cepit edificare, abbatem ponere, sua sententia decreuit. Romaldus enim custos humilitatis, ne plus corporum abbas esse uideretur quam animarum, quem certantium

¹ That is, Poland.

² Phil. 1: 23.

to speak, replied on behalf of the two disciples: "May you persevere in your intention, o king, and even if man's uncertain life does not grant you time for this, you still have accomplished it before the eyes of Him who knows what is about to come and who judges the deeds outwardly, but human hearts internally."

For this purpose, the glorious emperor planned to send brethren from the hermitage, who should be fervent in spirit, to Slavonia,¹ in order that they might construct a monastery on Christian territory, bordering on pagan lands, where beautiful forest offered concealment; in this way, there would be three benefits for those who sought the way of the Lord: for those who had only recently come from the world, a desirable coenobium; for those who were already mature and thirsted for the living God, golden solitude; and for those desiring *to be dissolved and to be with Christ*,² the evangelization of the pagans. In the meantime, in order that there might be a double blessing where a third one could not be, the emperor through his holy intention first set about building a coenobium next to our hermitage for the salvation of many, although because of our sins that effort decayed into its opposite, since—as it turned out in the end—he both lost the hermitage and failed to build a monastery. Many of those who saw what was going on attributed it to the greed of Father Romuald and were scandalized without understanding his heavenly soul, since he both strove for the emperor's salvation through this good deed and hunted for the gain of souls through the use of that monastery. For Romuald, who was a contemplative man and truly a servant of God, had that wondrous trait in his character which made him wish to displease men intentionally, considering himself successful, and believing that he could preserve his virtue, if he behaved in such a way that, without imperiling his mind, he could draw upon himself the disgrace and disparagement of men. His sound judgment made him appoint by his decision young Benedict, whom he loved so much for his perfection and his most beautiful virtues, to be an abbot both of our hermitage and of the new monastery that the emperor had begun to build. Romuald himself, the custodian of humility, took care

fratrum cohors necessarium habuit, cum hoc ipse nollet, quod fratres uolebant, ut esset illorum abbas, abbatem ponere necesse habebat. Neminem uero ad hoc opus—ut in discernendis personis spiritus Dei ipsi inerat¹—meliorem inuenit quam Benedictum, de quo dictum est: In cuius pectore cogitationes cęli ciuitatem posuerunt, in cuius moribus uirtutes regnum Dei tenuerunt. Cui rei cum leti fratres consentirent, ut eis Benedictus constitueretur abbas, ipse pro custodia humilitatis nil de se presumens dixit: Valde durum est, ut ille animas iudicandas suscipiat, qui suam ipsius custodire nescit. Illi ad animas regendas et aliorum actiones corrigendas procedere debent, quos et morum grauitas, et etatis maturitas et diuturna sanctitas atque temperata discretio idoneos reddit. Ac per me indignum, qui illius amplexibus, ut cęlestia discerem, una cella adherere iussus sum,² monuit imperatorem, ne se fieri abbatem pateretur. Ita irrita uota patris Romaldi fecit uoluntas puerilis Benedicti, et alius quidem abbas consecratur, tantum similis Benedicto, quantum *argento et lutum* adpropinquat *auro*.³ Post palam facta culpa, cum surrexisset ira magistri, in conventu nudus flagellatur tam ille qui in hac parte pro humilitate errauit, quam ego qui hoc libenter monui imperatorem, ne Benedictus fieret abbas. Ego autem quem pro priuilegio amoris: Frater meus, appellare solebat, inter horas beato Benedicto suggerebam, ut in Sclauonię^a partes causa euangelizandi perrexisset, asserens me ipsum in hoc opus esse paratum. Infestus, inquit, locus, et inimica palus hec est.⁴ A mini-

^a Sclauonię c. et Karw.

¹ The gift of discernment between good and evil (spirits) was considered one of the foremost signs of the ascetic's perfection, which made him suitable to live completely alone in the "deeper desert" or to be a spiritual teacher of younger monks. Cf. 1 Cor. 12: 10, where *discretio spirituum* is said to be one of the gifts of the Holy Spirit.

² In Romualdine communities, cells (or rather, huts) were loosely grouped around the central building with the church, where brethren met once or twice a week for common liturgy. In each cell, two monks lived together: an experienced hermit and his disciple, who learned on the example of his master and was supposed to obey his decisions without questioning.

lest he should appear as an abbot of bodies rather than of souls, which was what the regiment of brethren combating for God considered necessary; and as he did not want what the brethren wanted, namely to be their abbot, he considered it necessary to appoint another one. And as the spirit of God was in him and gave him the ability to discern between people,¹ he decided that none was better for that task than Benedict, about whom it was said: "In his breast, the thoughts of heavens have set up their realm, and in his ways, the virtues have kept the kingdom of God." The brethren happily consented to the decision of appointing Benedict as their abbot, but he, preserving his humility and not thinking highly of himself, said: "It is truly hard to take upon oneself the judgment of souls for one who cannot even guard his own. Souls should be ruled, and actions of others corrected, by those who are appropriate for that task owing to the gravity of their character, the maturity of their years, their long sanctity, and their tempered judgment." And through me, the unworthy, who was ordered to cling to him and live with him in his cell in order to learn the secrets of heaven,² he warned the emperor that he should not allow him to become abbot. Thus, the youthful will of Benedict undid the pledge of Father Romuald and somebody else was consecrated abbot, who resembled Benedict just as much as *clay* comes close to *silver and gold*.³ Afterwards the guilt was made public and the rage of the master erupted, and we were whipped naked in the chapter: both him, who erred in this matter for the sake of humility, and I, who willingly warned the emperor that Benedict should not become abbot. But I, whom by the privilege of love he used to call "my brother," was within hours urging the blessed Benedict that he should leave for Slavonia in order to evangelize, assuring him that I was myself ready for that task. "This is an infested place," I said, "and a hostile swamp."⁴ From the least to the greatest, who

³ Cf. Wisd. 7: 9: *omne aurum in conparatione illius harena est exigua et tamquam lutum aestimabitur argentum in conspectu illius.*

⁴ Pereum was located on a small island in the estuary of the Po river, and such marshlands were largely infested with malaria at the time.

mo usque ad summum, quis iam hic non infirmatur? et ita, ut proprie Dei signum sit, in tanta infirmitate ne quis moriatur? Qualia, queso, in cella opera manus eius faciunt, cuius pedes cum uenerit dominica sacram communionem in ecclesia querere non poterunt? Qualem sane lectionis fructum capiunt, uel qualem orationem sensus eius mittunt, cuius egra membra de lecto se leuare nequeunt? Iam nec ieiunium secum habet, quem infirmitas in potestate tenet, ceteris expers uirtutibus, si se illa armarit, que tunc necesse est, solam pacienciam habebit. Quin potius ante quam sine causa moriamur in hac palude, eamus illuc ubi utrumque agamus. Nunc cum uoluntas fert philosophantes in heremo, non timeamus mori, ut cum res postulat, euangelizantes paganis non timeamus mori pro Christo. Ne dicas: Superbia est peccatoribus querere martyrium, cum etiam multi non baptizati, fornicatores et idolatrę perceiverint gratiam hanc, maxime cum nos in hac parte non queramus sanctitatem, sed remissionem peccatorum, quoniam in baptismo lauantur, in martyrio uero omnia extinguuntur.¹ His et huiusmodi uerbis illectus, hoc cepit uelle uir ille ualde benedictus, cuius itineris gratia ad ceteram humilitatem noluit abbas fieri, in quo ordine si stabile opus esset cenobitis et heremitis talis ille multum prodesse posset. Ergo, toto illo anno quo non semel turbati et multum de palude infirmi facti, stetere fratres in illa heremo, ubi rex Otto, homo bonę uoluntatis suo sancto precioso Christi martyri Adalberto rotundum oratorium columnis marmoreis pulcherrime construxit, in cuius opere centum libras expendit.²

¹ Cf. *Vita S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi altera, auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, red. long.*, c. 31: *quae secundum fidem lauantur in baptismo, extinguuntur in martyrio* (MPH n.s. IV, 2, p. 37).

² Upon hearing the news of Adalbert's martyrdom in the spring of 997, Otto III ordered his deeds and death to be described and continued promoting his cult with new foundations and consecrations: thus, in August 999 he ordered a church at Cicerara (nearby Subiaco) to be consecrated to Archangel Michael, Saint Benedict, and Saint Adalbert. In 1000, he obtained a valuable relic of Adalbert's arm from Boleslaw Chrobry on the occasion of the foundation of the Gniezno archbishopric, and he used this relic in order to found a number of churches dedicated to the martyr: at Lüttich, Aachen, Reichenau, Pereum, the island of St Bartholomew in Rome, and

does not fall ill here? So much so that, indeed, isn't it a warning from God if nobody dies amidst so much disease? What sort of work, I ask you, can our hands do in the cell, if our feet are unable even go to church to receive the Holy Communion when Sunday comes? What sort of profit can we get from the reading, what sort of prayer can our hearts send out if our ailing limbs cannot raise themselves from bed? One cannot even be said to fast if illness holds one in its power; and unable to exercise other virtues, if one arms oneself with what is necessity, all that will remain is patience. Let us rather depart before we die without a cause in this swamp, and let us go somewhere where we can do one or the other. Now as our will sustains us while we philosophize in the desert, we should not be afraid of dying, and when the situation comes to that, we should not be afraid of dying for Christ while we evangelize the pagans. Do not say: 'It is pride when sinners seek martyrdom', since also many non-baptized, fornicators, and idolaters have received that grace, especially since we would not seek there the fame of sanctity, but the remission of sins; because they are washed away in baptism, but completely extinguished in martyrdom."¹ Lured by these and similar words, that truly blessed man began to desire it himself; and it was for the sake of this journey, in addition to his previous humility, that he declined to become abbot, although, had it happened, he would have been of great benefit to both coenobites and hermits. Thus, all that year, in which the brethren were disturbed more than once and became very ill from the swamp, they remained in the hermitage, where Emperor Otto, the man of good will, had most beautifully built a circular oratory with marble columns for his precious holy martyr of Christ, Adalbert, on which undertaking he spent a hundred pounds.²

Esztergom. In the spring of 1001, he commissioned the building of a monastery at Pereum in honour of Adalbert, while in the autumn of the same year a solemn consecration of a church (which nowadays has disappeared without trace) took place.

On the Carolingian/Ottonian *libra* (pound), see e.g. Hendrik Mäkelær, "Wikingerzeitlicher Geldumlauf im Ostseeraum – Neue Perspektiven," *Quaestiones medii aevi novae* 10 (2005): 143.

[III]

Volens autem cesar uindicare iniuriam suam in superbia Romanorum—quod iter utinam numquam cepisset, in quo contra sanctum Petrum multum peccauit!—quia in uia erat, dedicationem huius basilicę in manu multorum episcoporum honorifice fecit. Ibi cum nil preter solitum sequens populus heremum adimpleret, suę lingue duobus alumnis, quorum laqueos et scandala, quia cari erant corde,¹ ferre non poterat, non absque tristitia patris Romaldi, ad secretiorem heremum, ubi ablata populi frequentia et inquietudine parentum, sub suo discipulo militarent, uix abeundi licentiam impetrauit; quamuis nec ipsi iuuenes, nec rex bono animo qui licentiam acquisiuit, nec discipulus imperfecto amore qui nos recepit, hoc peccatum impune peccarent. Ita relictis heremus, cum eum discipuli perdunt, et ipse discipulos magister Romaldus perdidit; quem uia maris, ut ibi gigneret nouos filios, in patriam Hystriam portauit.²

Forte infirmus iuxta paludem que solet euomere periculosas et fortes febres, qui horum omnium nil sapuit, longe intra siluam sedebat ad focum in frontispicio cellę uir Dei Benedictus. Quem quasi dimidium animę meę aggressus sum,³ qui quamuis occasionem haberem que infirmis animis haud parum nocet, magno meo uicio magistrum reliqui. Agnita re, uir sanctus inquit: Magnum saltum fecisti, frater meus. Et cum duo unus homo esse debeamus, hoc me nesciente fecisti, quod magistrum reliqueras, cum eo perduto talem

¹ These two disciples would have been Bruno and Tammo.

² One can easily imagine that the eremitic community where young monks undermined the decisions of their spiritual father and where the emperor intervened in issues of an internal nature compelled Romuald to abandon Pereum. According to Damian's *Vita b. Romualdi*, he remained in Istria for three years, whereby he "founded a monastery in one place and stayed as a recluse in other two." (*Vita b. Romualdi*, ch. 30 and 42, ed. G. Tabacco, 70–1, and 84).

[III]

As the emperor wanted to avenge the insult that he had suffered because of the Romans' haughtiness—ah, if only he had never undertaken that journey, for he sinned heavily against Saint Peter in doing so!—he consecrated that basilica, since it was on his way, with great honor in the presence of a number of bishops. People who followed him filled the hermitage as usually; and since he could not bear that the two disciples of his language, who were so dear to his heart,¹ should meet with snares and scandals, he procured with difficulty from Father Romuald, who was displeased about it, permission that they might depart into more remote solitude, where there was less presence of people and interference of relatives, and where they could campaign under one of Romuald's disciples; although neither the young men themselves, nor the king, who obtained the permission with good intention, or the disciple, who received us with inadequate love, remained unpunished for their sin. Abandoning the hermitage, the disciples lost their teacher and master Romuald lost his disciples; and the way of the sea carried him to the homeland of Istria to conceive new sons there.² But Benedict, the man of God, had been ill because of the nearby swamp, which was spewing out dangerous and strong fevers, and knew nothing about all this, but was sitting far away in the forest at the fire that was burning in front of his cell. I approached him like the other half of my soul,³ I who, even though I had a pretext that the situation there had been quite harmful for weak spirits, had in fact abandoned the master out of great vice. When informed about the matter, the holy man said: "You've made a great leap, my brother. And although we two should be as one, you did this without my knowledge and left the master, even though, now we have lost him, we will never be granted to find another such. But although it is

³ Cf. Horace, *Carm.* I, 3, 8: *et serves animae dimidium meae*.

non liceat inuenire. Et quamuis durum sit mihi magistrum relinquere, te abeunte, utique ego hic non stabo. Reticuit Benedictus, et post parum uoce queta: Da mihi, inquit, calceos, et abeamus hinc. Et iterum dixit: Numquid de communi desiderio, de antiqua illa uoluntate aliquid remansit? Ubi est regis nobile decretum et in confessione Christi absconditum consilium, quia pro amore eterne uite omnia sponte dimittere coram angelis Dei promisit? Que quia libenter tenere uoluit, in die mortis etiam inuitus homo amittit. Ubi est relinquere regnum sapienti, et deposito regio honore ad sanctam ciuitatem Ierusalem, monachum uelle fieri, et in abdita heremo quam nescit uia, nec homo, uelle philosophari?

Respondi ego filius negligentie, quem qualis eram ipse Benedictus multum amauit: Inperator hoc nimium uult, ut precedas ante eum in regionem Sclauorum; in ea, quam nosti, adhuc stat sententia sua. Nec dubites, quin uita comite ego te sequar, quem, donec uideam, quo sua res se uertat, nunc in hac terra egra uoluntas imperatoris tenet. His uerbis de silua ad ecclesiam regressi, inuenimus imperatorem de prandio surrexisse, qui ad offensum propter separationem discipulorum magistrum solita humilitate introiuit, et bonum Iohannem, et quantum apparet oculis hominum meliorem Benedictum in Sclauoniam mittere, preter spem facile impetrauit. Iste Iohannes solo capite minor Benedicto, ultra ceteros heremi incolas maior feruore Dei, et altior humilitate excreuit; homo tranquillus et temperatis moribus, ita ut aliquis eum uix irascentem uideret, uanę glorię proprius hostis, grauitatem morum hilari facie celans, docta sapientia, et innata patientia annos uincens, talem gloriam habens de uno oculo ceco, quem olim amiserat, cecantibus uariolis, quasi qui tres haberet pro uno. A puero meliora eligens, uoluptatem pro hoste tenuit, laborem non fugiens contra carnem et sanguinem magnum certamen iniuit. Conuersatus in monasterio sine querela inter fratres incultos animos domuit, inconpositos mores proiecit. Abbati suo acceptissimus, hoc quod egit, humilitate condiuit, benignus et paciens Dei et proximi didicit feruere pulchra caritate. Ita in breui adoleuit, et postquam in consuetudinem uenit, omne amarum, omne difficile libenter pati dilexit pro

hard to leave the master, if you are going away, I surely will not remain here." Benedict fell silent and, after a little while, said in a low voice: "Give me the shoes, and let us depart from here." And then he added: "Is there nothing left of our common desire, of that old intention? Where are the king's noble decision and the secret resolution that he confessed to Christ, when he promised before the angels of God, of his own free will and for the love of eternal life, that he would abandon everything—all the things that a man, since he preferred to keep, must lose against his will on the day of his death? Where is his decision to give over his realm to a wise man and, setting aside his royal honor at the holy city of Jerusalem, become monk and philosophize in a remote hermitage, which no road or man knows?" And I, the son of negligence, whom Benedict loved so much despite the way I was, answered this way: "The emperor wanted very much that you should go ahead of him to the region of the Slavs; thereon his intentions, which you know well, have been focused so far. And do not doubt that I will follow you as long as I live, yet until I see how the emperor's plans turn out for him, I will remain at his will in this ailing land." With these words we returned from the forest to the church, and we found that the emperor had just risen from his lunch, and he visited the master, who was offended because of the separation of the disciples, with his usual humility, where he easily and unexpectedly procured that good John and even better (as it seems to the eyes of man) Benedict should be sent to Sclavonia. This John was only a head smaller than Benedict, yet excelled the rest of the dwellers of the hermitage in his greater fervor for God and deeper humility; he was a calm man of temperate customs, so that hardly anyone ever saw him in anger; he was a true enemy of vainglory and concealed his stern ways behind a cheerful face, conquering his young age with learned wisdom and innate patience, and he achieved such glory despite one blind eye, which he had lost to blinding smallpox, so that it seemed that he had three eyes instead of one. From his childhood, he had sought out better things and considered pleasure his enemy; he never shunned work and led a great battle against flesh and blood. He lived in the monastery without quarrels; he tamed wild spirits

Ihesu Christi amore, secundum illud apostoli: *Mihi uiuere Christus est, et mori lucrum*,¹ et secundum psalmistam: *Pax multa diligentibus Ihesum, et non est illis scandalum*!² et iterum: *Cor meum et caro mea exultauerunt in Deum uiuum*.³

[IV]

Ergo defluo amne, Rauennam uenit onerata carina, portans iuxta regium latus bonos et malos populum monachorum. Ibi magno studio et amore Christi uiam Benedicti et Iohannis preparans imperator, omnibus necessariis rite ordinatis, sanctos par fratres quibus nullus similis remansit, ultra Alpes in Sclauoniam direxit. Tunc—quod sine lacrimis promere non possum—dum nox adesset, adhuc in crepusculo lucis, quia eum artius amaui, cum eo dolens amplius ambulare cęlestia cepi; fateor, mihi misero dulce colloquium erat. Nec tacendum, quia me, quem: Frater meus pro signo amoris appellare solebat, prophetans quod pro meis peccatis futurum erat: Domne episcope, multocies eadem karitate uocabat.⁴ Et hoc non negligenter ualde metuendum est, quia cum sicut uirtus culpam sic sepe culpa soleat generare uirtutem, quod me spiritus uagationis cogitare uel suadere iussit, illum spiritus sanctitatis me relicto in Sclauoniam direxit, secundum illud psalmiste: *Longe a peccatoribus salus*.⁵

¹ Phil. 1: 21.

² Ps. 118: 165.

³ Cf. Ps. 83: 3: *cor meum et caro mea laudabunt Deum viventem*.

⁴ Sylvester II appointed Bruno a missionary bishop, leaving the consecration to the archbishop of Magdeburg, who had the jurisdiction over the Slavic mission. However, he was not able to follow the hermits to Poland immediately after his appointment because of the war between Henry II and the Polish duke.

among the brethren and expelled unruly ways. His abbot was extremely pleased with him, since he spiced with humility everything he did and was benevolent and patient, while he learnt to burn with beautiful love both for God and for his neighbor. Thus he matured in a short while and, once it had become his custom, he loved to suffer all difficulties, all bitterness, for the love of Jesus Christ, according to the words of the Apostle: *For me, to live is Christ and to die is gain*,¹ and the psalmist: *Much peace have they that love Jesus, and to them there is no stumbling block*;² and again: *My heart and my flesh have rejoiced in the living God*.³

[IV]

Thus, the emperor came down the river to Ravenna, bringing along, on a heavy-laden ship, along with the king's person a whole nation of monks, the good and the bad. There, preparing the way for Benedict and John with great zeal and love of Christ, he properly arranged all that was necessary and sent the saintly pair of brothers, who left behind none their like, across the Alps to Sclavonia. Then—but I cannot utter it without tears—when the night was about to fall, still in twilight, I began to talk over the celestial matters with Benedict, feeling an ever greater pain with him, but also loving him ever more dearly; yes, I admit, the conversation was sweet to me in my misery. And I should not omit that he, though usually he called me “my brother” as a sign of love, now named me repeatedly “my lord bishop” with the same lovingness, predicting what was ahead of me in return for my sins.⁴ And this was not for nothing, I am afraid, for just as virtue can generate guilt and guilt virtue, thus with me what my vagabond spirit made me think or suggest, with him it was his holy spirit that directed him to Sclavonia, abandoning me, according to the words of the psalmist: *Salvation is far from sinners*.⁵

⁵ Ps. 118: 155.

[V]

Cuius Benedicti in uisu noctis, quando solet sopor occupare homines,¹ episcopus qui eum presbiterum consecrauit, ita ut inundaret, multo oleo uenerabile caput uisus est unxisse. Et iterum uisus est nescio a quo calicem salutarem accepisse, et uno tractu totum ebibisse. *Que* duo desiderabilia unus uersus canit: *Inpinguasti in oleo caput meum et calix tuus inebrians quam preclarus est.*² Et cum essent uentura, prophetiam et rerum salute similia pro nihilo computans, hoc beatus Benedictus nullis se credebat cogitationibus, quia homo Deo dignus per Spiritum Sanctum doctus fuit spem ponere in solo Domino, qui ex nihilo fecit omnia, que creauit in salutari suo. Sed qui in eius amplexibus ex diuersa parte sanctis osculis morabar, per totam uiam qua cum eo miser gradiebar, inter cetera multa quę extrema uisio loqui precepit, hec una sententia adherebat in ore mei pectoris: cui utinam nunc: Dominus meus clamare dignus essem, tunc: Dulcissime, inquit, frater meus, rogo te per communem spem, Ihesum Christum, Virginis Filium, memento quod me tecum et te mecum habere nosti. Cum oras aut psallis, semper precare et obsecra Deum uiuum, ut quod dedit ambobus desiderium unum, perficiat propter nomen suum, nec prius moriamur, quam et tu et ego peccator uideamus in misericordia Dei felicem diem, scilicet fuso sanguine per rationem, in digito Dei remissionem omnium peccatorum. Non longe ab eo scriptum est: Ille in nomine Ihesu petit, qui animę suę salutem querit.³ Hoc pignus amoris ego peccator sancto reliqui, hoc iniungens et inculcans sanctis auribus eius, quomodocumque mundus uertat se, pone sequi proculdubio promisi. Inter hec admonet, ut linguam Sclauonicam discerem; hoc solum beatus Benedictus diligenter commendans admonebat, et iterum admonuit, ne sine licentia aposto-

¹ Cf. Job 4: 13: *in horrore visionis nocturnae, quando solet sopor occupare homines.*

² Ps. 22: 5.

³ Cf. John 16: 23–28.

[V]

And in a vision by night, when deep sleep has men in its hold,¹ Benedict saw the bishop who consecrated him to priesthood anointing his head with so much oil that it poured all over him. And again, Benedict saw himself receiving the chalice of salvation, I know not from whom, and drinking it all in one draught. These two desirable things are sung of in a single verse: *Thou hast anointed my head with oil; and thy chalice which inebriateth, how goodly is it!*² But although these things would indeed happen, blessed Benedict did not heed at all this prophecy or any similar things regarding safety, and trusted no such thought, since this man, worthy of God, was taught by the Holy Spirit to place his faith in God alone, God who made everything out of nothing and created it to His benefit. And as for me, I lingered in his arms offering myself from various angles to his saintly kisses, and for the whole way that I, miserable creature, walked with him, among the numerous things that our last goodbye was forcing into words, this one sentence stuck to the lips of my heart and I said to him—ah, I wish I was worthy now of calling him “my lord”—the following: “My sweetest, my brother, I beg you for the sake of our common hope who is Jesus Christ, son of the Virgin, always remember that you once knew me to have with you and you with me. When you pray or sing the Psalms, always entreat and beseech the living God that He should fulfill, for the sake of His name, the one wish that He gave to both of us: that we should not die before you and I, sinner that I am, should by God’s mercy see the blissful day, namely when we spill our blood for a reason, for the remission of all sins in the sign of God. The following words were written in a somewhat similar way: He who seeks the salvation of his soul, asks in the name of Jesus.”³ It was this pledge of love that I, the sinner, left to the saintly man, imposing and forcing it into his holy ears: I promised that I should follow him no matter what should become of the world. In the meantime, blessed Benedict admonished me to learn the Slavonic language; and, earnestly intrusting me one thing, admonished me

lica uenirem. Tali soliloquio rapitur ab oculis meis dominus meus Benedictus, ultra numquam uita laboriosa a me uidendus;¹ et eunt gemino sidere accipere regnum Dei et nobilem fortunam in terra Sclauorum uir Dei Benedictus, qui ardet amore Ihesu, ut lingua in igne, cui una et simplex in eternam uitam intentio solo et puro amore sapientiæ Dei, et *missus a Deo homo*² Iohannes, qui quamuis non talem sanctum haberet in amore Christi feruorem, tamen grauis erat, sensibus paciens, moribus se cito non mutans et se ipsum in potestate habens, minoris ingenii circa res interiores, maioris circa res exteriores; bono animo, et tardo incepto, non tamen desinens, nisi perfecto; quantum ad mores optimos pertinet, uere famulus Dei.

[VI]

Ergo, ultra Alpes longo anfractu uiam secantes, ubi indulgentes tanto labori, uię finem fecerunt, sicut et multas tales pertransierunt, ignotę linguę prouinciam Polanorum, inuento seniore cui nomen Bolizlao erat—quod interpretatum maior glorię sonat—intrauerunt; qui cum solus ex omnibus nostri cui raram auem martyrem Adalbertum,³ et in predicationem mittere, occisumque in suo regno collocare meruisset,⁴ secundum consuetudinem gratissimo animo et magno desiderio seruos Dei suscepit exhibensque illis omnem humanitatem, in quieta heremo, qualem huic uite congruum locum ipsi inuenerunt, diuite uoluntate edificauit et uite necessaria sine labore ministravit.

¹ Cf. *Vita S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi altera, auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, red. long.*, c. 28: *et tollitur ab eorum oculis numquam postea uidendus*.

² John 1: 6.

³ Cf. *Vita S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi altera, auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, red. long.*, c. 31 (MPH n.s. IV, 2, p. 37), where Adalbert is also called *rara avis terrarum*. The expression was common with classical authors, such as Horace and Juvenal.

⁴ Boleslaw Chrobry (967–1025), Polish ruler from 992, was an active supporter of the missionary enterprise. After the death of Adalbert, he acquired the body from the Prussians and deposited it at Gniezno, whence it was forcibly taken to Prague in 1039.

as he had before that I should not come without the apostolic license. With this conversation, my lord Benedict was snatched away from my sight, and in this toilsome life I would never see him again¹; and they went off under a twin star to receive the kingdom of God and their noble fortune in the land of the Slavs: Benedict, who burned with the love of Jesus like a log in fire, whose one and simple intention was turned towards the eternal life, with nothing but pure love of God's wisdom; and John, *a man sent from God*² who, even though he did not possess such saintly fervor in the love of Christ, was still a sober person and patient in his feelings, a man who would not quickly change his ways and who kept himself under control, perhaps of a narrower wit regarding internal things, but of a greater regarding those external; a man of good spirit and slow undertaking, but not giving up a thing until it was done; and as for his best nature, a true servant of God.

[VI]

Thus, forging their way by a long detour across the Alps, where the journey would end for these men after investing so much effort, they entered the province of the Poles, whose language was unknown to them, just as they had passed through many other such provinces, and they found the lord whose name was Bolesław, which in translation means "greater in glory"; he alone among all men of our times was found worthy both to send that rare bird, the martyr Adalbert,³ to preach and, after he was killed, offered him a resting place in his kingdom.⁴ As was his custom, he received the servants of God in a most welcoming spirit and with great desire; and, showing them all kindness, he built with his generous will a place in quiet solitude that they considered appropriate for their way of life, providing them without any difficulty with all things they needed for a living.

Subsequently, in 1009, he also ransomed the body of the martyred Bruno from the Jarvingians.

[VII]

Eadem tempestate superuenientis hiemis, cum cesar in uiribus regni et electo exercitu uirorum fortium contra Romuleam urbem non dextro omine seculare iter ageret, moritur sine filiis, eheu, Otto pius; mortuus est dum minus putatur, magnus imperator, in angusto castello.¹ Cum plura bona fecisset, hac in parte errauit ut homo, quia oblitus est Dominum dicentem: *Mihi uindicta et ego retribuam*,² non dedit honorem Deo et, qui clauem gerit alti celi eius precioso apostolo Petro, secundum illud: Honora Dominum tuum sanctum Israel.³ Nam cum sola Roma ei placeret, et ante omnes Romanum populum pecunia et honore dilexisset, ibi semper stare, hanc renouare ad decorem secundum pristinam dignitatem ioco puerili in casum cogitauit.⁴ Nec longe queras exemplum,⁵ sed in psalmista inuenies: Cogitationes hominum uanę sunt.⁶ Peccatum regis hoc fuit. Terram suę natiuitatis, delectabilem Germaniam, iam nec uidere uoluit; tantus sibi amor habitare Italiam fuit, ubi mille languoribus, mille mortibus seua clades armata currit. Cadunt circa latus eius capellanus, episcopus, comes; seruiens quam plurimus moritur, milles non unus et populus optimus; furit gladius sanguine nobilium, multa sudans morte karorum, cor cesaris atrocissime uulnerans. Non iuuat inperium nec egrę diuicię, nec exercitus ille quem ingentem frustra congregauit; hasta et acutus gladius non eruerunt eum de manu mortis, que sola nescit honorare reges. Erat autem bonus cesar in non recto itinere, cogitans destruere ingentes muros maximę Romę, cuius ciues quamuis sibi pro bonis mala fecissent, ipsa Roma tamen a Deo datum apostolorum domicilium erat. Nec

¹ Paterno nearby Civita Castellana, cf. *Vita b. Romualdi*, ch. 30.

² Rom 12: 19; cf. Deut. 32: 35: *mea est ultio et ego retribuam in tempore*.

³ Variation on Sirach 7: 33 (in the Septuagint).

⁴ The emperor's preference for Italy is attested in several other sources, such as a letter to Gerard d'Aurillac and Thietmar's *Chronicle*.

⁵ Cf. *Vita S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi altera*, auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, red. long., c. 21: *Nec longe queras exemplum*.

[VII]

In the winter that followed afterwards, as the emperor was on a worldly and ill-omened campaign against the city of Rome with the imperial forces and a selected army of strong men, he died without sons, alas! The pious Otto was dead when it would have been least expected, a great emperor in a small castle.¹ Though he did many good things, he erred in this matter as a man who has forgotten that our Lord says: *Revenge is mine, and I will repay*;² and did not pay honor to God and his precious apostle Peter, who keeps the keys of the high heavens, according to the words: *Honor thy holy Lord, o Israel*.³ For only Rome pleased him and he indulged the Roman people with wealth and honors above all others, intending to live there always and to restore its beauty according to its original dignity, which was a childish and futile play.⁴ And you do not need to search long for an example,⁵ for you will find it in the psalmist: *The thoughts of man are vain*.⁶ That was the king's sin. He did not even wish to see any longer the land of his birth, delightful Germany; so much did he desire to live in Italy, where raging calamity ran armed with a thousand ailments and a thousand deaths. His chaplains, bishops and companions were falling dead around him; a great number of servants died, more than one soldier, and the most valiant among the people; the sword raged with blood of noblemen, sweating abundantly with the death of men dear to him, which most savagely wounded the emperor's heart. Nothing could sustain his imperial power, neither the feeble riches, nor that huge army, which he had gathered in vain; the lance and the sharp sword could not snatch him from the hands of death, for death alone knows not how to honor kings. The good emperor strayed from the right way, since he planned to demolish the powerful walls of great Rome; and even though its citizens repaid the good things he gave them with bad, Rome was still the domicile of the Apostles and given by God. And

⁶ Cf. Ps. 93: 11: *Dominus scit cogitationes hominum, quoniam vanae sunt.*

sic natiua terra et desiderabilis Germania ad amorem ei uenit, uerum Romulea tellus, morte suorum karorum pasta, adultera pulchritudine adhuc melius placet. Enimuero more regum antiquorum et paganorum, qui suam uoluntatem difficile relinquit, inueteratae Romę mortuum decorem renouare superuacuo labore insistit. Legit et non intellexit; solet enim amor transeuntium rerum cecare mentes hominum, quia qui mentiri non potuit, cum esset plenus Spiritu Sancto omnium iustorum sanctissimus pater Benedictus, per prophetiam, interrogatus ita respondit: Roma non erit capta a gentibus, sed in semet ipsa marcescet.¹ Postposita ueridica sententia, friuolo conamine ire cepit, qui et tunc eam nouando illuminare, et paulo post destruendo capere uaria cogitatione uanissime concupiuit. Nec longum ingrati Romani beneficiis a cesare illis persepe exhibitis, obliti montem pecuniarum quas frustra—amans sed non amantes—plena manu quasi fudit in abissum, indignantes uolentem extra preecuntium regum consueta sedulo stare apud illos pietate plenum cesarem cum suis linguaticis prope occiderunt. Quod quia clemens Deus adhuc noluit, a miserę dilectę Romę cum uerecundia expulerunt; et quia furor baculariorum nimia insolentia surrexit, uix incolume uita ad nobile castellum sancti Petri² humiliato cesare exiuit. Hunc dolorem alta mente repositum, heu pro peccatis tunc ulcisci uenit, quando eum hora qua non putauit pro pena delicti mors armata inuenit. Nam quod plerumque in illis potestatibus quibuslibet licet—uel potius hoc putatur licere quod non licet—comminatus est iurans, et uehementer affirmans, non se posse cessare a periculo proposito, donec uideret obprobrium ciuitatis, et fieret ultio de inimicis suis. Et dum ira quam mundus dat festinat, quam autem Deo promisit conuersio tardat, contra honorem boni imperatoris, et bonum differendo perdidit, et malum irritatus opere, sola cogitatione adimpleuit, sicut dictum est: Homo cogitat, Deus ordinat,³ et: Ve homini qui

¹ Cf. St Gregory, *Dialogues*, II, 15: *Cui vir Dei respondit: Roma a gentibus non exterminabitur, sed tempestatibus marcescet in semet ipsa*; Horace, *Ep.* 16, 2.

² Castel Sant'Angelo, near the Vatican.

³ A slightly modified variant of a commonplace proverb, found, for example, in Alcuin's *Epistles*. Bruno also used it in his *Epistola ad Heinricum regem*.

still his native land, delightful Germany, was not dear to him, but he preferred the country of Romulus, which gorged with the deaths of those dear to him, and its adulterous charms. Indeed, he strove with vain effort to restore the dead beauty of the aging Rome, in the way of ancient and pagan kings, and he was hard in relinquishing his will. He read and did not understand, as love of transitory things is wont to blind the minds of men; so when Father Benedict was asked for a prophecy—the most saintly among all the righteous, who could not lie, for he was filled with the Holy Spirit—he answered in the following way: Rome will not be captured by gentiles, but will languish in itself.¹ Since the emperor disregarded this truthful judgment, he proceeded in frivolous exertion, changing his mind in his vain desire: while at first he most vainly wished to illuminate and renew Rome, shortly afterwards he wanted to enslave and destroy it. And the ungrateful Romans, who had enjoyed benefits granted by the emperor so many times, forgot the mountain of money that he in effect poured into a bottomless pit with both hands, loving those who did not love him; and, indignant because he wanted to remain with them assiduously, contrary to the usage of his royal predecessors, they almost killed the good-hearted emperor and his companions in language. But since merciful God did not want it at that time, they banished him shamefully from that miserably loved Rome; and since the fury of his vassals rose with exceeding insolence, the humiliated emperor barely saved his life by fleeing to the noble castle of Saint Peter.² This pain, which lodged deep in his soul—alas for his sins!—he was just about to avenge when armed death found him at the hour that he least expected, in punishment of his offence. For as it is generally fitting for such powerful men—or rather is believed to be fitting although it is not—he threatened and swore and vehemently maintained that he would not give up this dangerous course until he had seen the disgrace of the city and taken revenge on his enemies. But since rage, which is of this world, is swift, while the conversion that he promised to God was slow, the good emperor, detrimentally to his honor, lost the good by protraction and fulfilled the bad in thought alone, that he could not in deed, as it is said: Man proposes, God disposes³ and: Woe to the man who wants the good and hastens

uult bonum, et cicius non facit, quia mox perdit illud; quamuis mortis amaritudo, que non suo tempore uenit, satis acerbe piauuit, quicquid pueriliter in hoc deliquit. Similiter conuersionis firmissima meditatio, coram cunctis maioribus quorum gemino agmine¹ plena domus erat, cum iaceret in extremis, pura confessio suorum scelerum, delicta iuuentutis purgarunt et super niuem animam dealbauerunt, secundum illud: Penitencia aboleri peccata indubitanter credimus, etiamsi in ultimo uite spiritu peniteat admissa^a, et publica lamentatione peccata prodantur.² Nam et lacrimarum spissas guttas in terram proiecit, omnesque secum flere coegit coram collectis sanctorum reliquiis, quibus intererat in qua Ihesus Dei filius passus est uiuificę crucis magnum lignum. Cum timore et exultatione carnem et sanguinem Domini accepit, quoniam ex hora tantę infirmitatis, quasi ex qua tota salus pendet, cotidie sacram eucharistiam sumere deuota mente curauit. Post, cum numquam in articulo mortis ingenium perderet, suauiter anhelitu, ut orbaret plurimos sauciaretque sodalium animos, sub misericordia semper sperata Saluatoris expirauit. Eheu mors amara,³ mors immatura, que in uniuersa terra sat florum collegit, tunc temporis nec unum pulchriorem accepit. Cuius formosa persona, species digna imperio, ita obsessa est maculis, ut qui se uidentes saciare non potuerat, et qui pascebat oculos uidentium se, omnem priorem amisit decorem, ut non amaret aliquis eum tunc, sed etiam horreret. Ita incolumi Roma, dum ipse pro pena criminis illesus non exiret, raptus in cęlum⁴ ne malicia mutaret intellectum illius,⁵ adhuc in lumine iuuentutis mortem subiit temporalem, quia utique, ut talem haberet regem, noster hic reus non dignus erat mundus. Quem si uiuere liceret in adultam etatem, ubi Pitagorica

^a admissa *Kętrziński*: amissa c.

¹ Probably referring to clerics and laymen.

² Cf. Augustine, *De ecclesiasticis dogmatibus*, ch. 48 (*On Repentance*): *Penitencia aboleri peccata indubitanter credimus et ultimo uite spiritu si peniteat admissorum.*

³ Cf. *Vita S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi altera*, auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, red. long., c. 32, red. brev., ch. 31: *mors amara, mors anxia.*

not to do it, for soon he will lose it; although the bitterness of death, which came before its due time, most cruelly atoned for all his childish transgressions. In the same way, his most firm intention to convert, made in the presence of all the elders, whose double rows¹ filled the house as he lay dying, as well as the pure confession of his offences, purged his youthful sins and rendered his soul whiter than the snow, according to the words: We believe beyond doubt that repentance abolishes sins, even if one repents of them with the last breath of life and they are confessed through public lamentation.² For the emperor shed dense teardrops onto the ground and compelled all to weep together with him in the presence of the collected relics of the saints, among which there was a large piece of the life-giving cross, on which Jesus, Son of God, had suffered. With fear and exultation, he received the flesh and blood of the Lord; and he had taken care from the beginning of his grave illness to receive every day with a devout mind the holy Eucharist, as if all salvation depended on it. After that—and he did not lose his clear mind until the very moment of death—he expired in the mercy of Our Savior that he always hoped for, with a tender sigh, bereaving and wounding the souls of many companions. Alas, bitter death!³ Premature death was picking many flowers in the whole world at that time, but never as lovely a one as that. His beautiful person, his appearance worthy of an emperor, was so covered with sores that, while before one could not get enough of looking at him and eyes were feeding on his appearance, now he had lost all his former beauty and nobody could admire him without also being aghast. Thus Rome remained unharmed, while he did not escape punishment for his crime; he was caught up to heaven,⁴ lest evil change his understanding,⁵ and yet he suffered temporal death in the light of his youth, for this guilty world of ours was not worthy of having such a king. And had it been given to him to live into adult-

⁴ Cf. 2 Cor. 12: 2.

⁵ Cf. Wisd. 4: 11 (the Septuagint).

littera monstrat dextrum ramum¹ si non fefellit opinio, qualem hominum oculi meliorem non uiderunt, rectus et exoptatissimus imperator esset. Sed multo melius quod uoluit et permisit Deus, cuius iudicia cum sint semper sancta, nobis qui sumus peccatores merito sunt incerta. Dicunt autem qui presentes fuere, quod tanta suauitate moriens emisisset spiritum, ut nihil differret nisi quasi dormiens exhalaret. Ex qua tranquilla uocatione, secundum sententias sanctorum doctorum ad beatam requiem et lucem uiuentium animas fidelium intrare amota dubietate fiducialiter credimus. Quem etsi pena purgatoria interrogat, tam ex eius operibus, quam ex bono desiderio quod habebat, libentissime colligimus, quia Otto uiuus, Otto eternus in paradiso Dei est humilis seruus sanctorum, et qui numquam peccauerunt, uere filius angelorum. Quamquam nil uirtutis in conspectu Dei plus putetur habere, utpute delicioso adolescente uxore non fruente, quamuis lubrica caro in aliquam uanitatem eum traxisset, uigilię tamen, saccus et ieiunium, quibus pollebat, munda elemosina, sana lectio et dulcis oratio quibus latebat, semper ad misericordiam Redemptoris sursus leuabant. At cum nil ualet, sicut scriptum est: Unus edificans, alter destruens, unus orans, alter maledicens,² uera mente—quod negare non est salubre—sicut et qui placere plus Deo desiderant, et infirmi non possunt, copiosa uanitate multum errauit; hoc tamen non nocuit, eo quod sibi in omni re displicuit, secundum hoc: Non paruus accessus ad beatitudinem Dei, cognitio infelicitatis suę.³ Et diuina clementia suam infirmitatem confortante, meliora uolebat, qui etiam tria maxima bona quorum unum ad salutem sufficit: monachicum habitum, heremum et martyrium toto desiderio ardebat. Non enim parua spiritualia aut pedetentim minutimque celeste iter carpere deliberabat, qui summam potestatem et maximam gloriam tam subita mutatione relinquere magno animo cogitabat; quamuis ut sepe sibi obiectum est,

¹ The Pythagorean letter is Y: while its basis symbolises youth, the right branch represents manliness and the left one old age; or the left branch shows a turning to the vices, and the right branch to the virtues; see eg. Servius's commentary to the *Aeneid* 6:136.

² Cf. Sirach 34: 23–24 (the Septuagint).

³ Augustine, *Our Lord's Sermon on the Mount*, I, 36.

hood, where the Pythagorean letter points to the right branch¹ if one's judgment is not mistaken, he would have been a righteous and most desirable emperor, such as the eyes of men had never seen a better. But what God willed and permitted is far better, since his judgments, always holy, are rightly unclear to us, who are sinners. And those who were present say that the emperor expired with such mildness that it was no different than if he had exhaled in his sleep. And according to the opinions of the holy doctors of the Church, such peaceful calling is a sign that the soul of the Christian has entered the repose of the blessed and the light of the living, which we believe in faith and beyond all doubt. For even if the punishment of purgatory tests him, on one hand because of his deeds and on the other because of his good intentions, we are most disposed to adduce that Otto lives, that Otto is eternal as a humble servant of saints in God's paradise, and truly the son of angels, who never sinned. Even if it is considered that he had no other virtues in the sight of God, and although slippery flesh led him into a degree of vanity, being a precious youth who never enjoyed a wife, still the vigils, the sackcloth, and the fasting, in which he thrived, the pure almsgiving, the salutary reading, and the sweet prayer, in which he retreated, always lifted him upwards to the mercy of the Redeemer. And since nothing makes sense, as it is written, if one builds and another tears down, if one prays and another curses,² to be truthful—and it is not salutary to deny it—Otto, like all those who wish to be more pleasing to God, but are not able because of their weakness, erred much in his excessive vanity. This, however, did not harm him, because he was dissatisfied with himself in everything, according to the saying: Nor is it a small approach to blessedness, when a man has come to know his own wretchedness.³ And as divine clemency strengthened his weakness, he longed for better things, indeed he burned with all his desire for the three supreme goods, of which one would suffice for salvation, namely the monastic habit, the hermitage, and martyrdom. For he did not aspire to small spiritual things or to feel his way along the celestial path step by step and cautiously, but thought in his greatness of spirit of abandoning the supreme power and the greatest glory all at once; although, as he was often reproached, what he

quam ipse uirtutem putabat, ualde Deo displicens uicium erat, quod humana fragilitate alienum non suum officium agebat, dimittens legem et iusticiam quam pauperibus et regno ministrare positus erat, et prope quantum ad rem pertinet, raro regalia fecit et que ad se pertinebant minus; semper monachorum spiritualia querebat; humilitas autem maxima in eo erat, tuta fides, et munere larga manus, quod nemo sana mente plurimum profuisse negat; hoc sæculum mente et amore non habitauit, et in magno amore Dei quasi non haberet hic manentem ciuitatem, futuram toto desiderio inquisiuit.¹ Huc accedit, oculis hominum imperatorem esse, intus uero in corde ante oculos Creatoris presentem monachum portauit; ita uoluptuosis rebus que in interitum hominem trahunt, auro, argento, regno et regalibus deliciis frustra suprasedit, similis ei qui proiecit. Videtur autem in morte eius compleri uaticinium Cymanę Sibillę que de Saluatoris aduentu, de redemptione et iudicio temporali cum plura uera cecinisset, inter Romana fata ubi de regibus loquitur, de isto cesare Otone ita loquitur: Rex in purpura natus ante portam ciuitatis in terra moritur non sua.² Quod est simile rei ueritatis, quia rebellante terra et clausa ciuitate mors insonuit imperatoris. Hic est Otto, monachorum pater, episcoporum mater, humilitatis et clemencię filius, religionis et karę fidei albus famulus, diues bonę uoluntatis et pauper cum fine uirtutis, sine differentia prodigus in terrena utilitate, uincens peccata de iuvene carne, karitate cęlestium spreta patria, dulce decus aureę Romę,³ inuisum funus breui ira Dei supra se, longo luctu hominum post se, certa salute animę suę, melius uiuens in Christo Ihesu.

¹ Cf. Heb. 13: 14: *non enim habemus hic manentem ciuitatem sed futuram inquirimus.*

² Not mentioned in any account of the Sibylline prophecies.

thought of as virtue, was in fact vice and highly displeasing to God, for out of human frailty he performed the duty of another, rather than his own, and neglected law and justice, which he had been appointed to administer to the poor and the kingdom; for that matter, he rather rarely occupied himself with royal tasks and even more rarely with anything that had to do with himself. He always tended towards the spirituality of the monks; there was great humility in him, secure faith, and open-handedness in giving, which nobody in the right mind can deny as having been beneficial to many; he did not dwell in this world in his mind and heart, but in his great love of God, as if he never had here a lasting kingdom, he sought with all his desire the one that was to come.¹ Thus it happened that he was an emperor for the eyes of man, but inside, in his heart, there was always a monk standing before the eyes of the Creator; and in vain he had at his disposal all those pleasurable things that drag man into ruin, such as gold, silver, royal power and royal luxuries, for he was like someone who had renounced all them. It seems moreover that his death fulfilled the prophecy of the Cuman Sibyl, who predicted many true things about the advent of the Savior, the redemption, and the last judgment, and among the prophecies related to Rome, where she spoke of kings, it was of this Otto that she said the following: "A king born in purple will die at the gate of the city in a land that is not his."² And that corresponded to the truth, since the emperor's death thundered upon him as the land rebelled and the city closed its gate on him. Such was Otto, the father of monks, the mother of bishops, the son of humility and mercy, the white servant of religion and precious faith, rich in goodwill and poor for the sake of virtue, impartially lavish in regard to earthly purposes. He had overcome the sins of youthful flesh and spurned his homeland for the love of celestial things, that sweet ornament of golden Rome³; brief was the anger of God that struck him with hateful death, long the mourning of men afterwards, but the salvation of his soul is certain, and he lives a better life in Jesus Christ.

³ Cf. Horace, *Carm.* I, 1, 2: *dulce decus meum*.

[VIII]

Sanctorum autem uirorum, Benedicti et Iohannis, pro cuius amore et salute tantę peregrinationis laborem summere, ut ferit aures audita mors cesaris, infinita angustia accreuit cordibus eorum.¹ Cuius inter cetera bona hec nobilis consuetudo erat, quamuis pro iuuentute uiros uanos uel seculares adamaret, plus adamare solebat homines bonos, et amare quemque, quanto meliorem nouerat, studebat, si laicus, si clericus, maxime si seruus Dei erat. Cuius mortem nullus maiore luctu planxit, quam Bolizlao, cui multa bona pre ceteris facere rex puer frustra in desiderio habebat,² scilicet apud quem sancti uiri Benedictus et Iohannes in heremo steterē. Qui supradictus Bolizlao, si fidem habet, ante omnes maiorem memoriam animę eius in corde tenet.

[IX]

Post obitum uero imperatoris, in sua uiscera conuersus christianus mundus ad prelia et opiniones preliorum exestuauit in potestate, sicut mare in tempestate, quod numquam plus fuit, peccatorum nostrorum exigentibus meritis, quam est hodie; et sedentibus in pace omnibus paganis impugnantibusque impune christianos, ceperunt pugnare inter se christiana regna iniquo odio, seuo et infatigabili prelio.³ Sed uulnus super uulnus,⁴ super magnam tristitiam hec maior tristitia mihi accreuit, quod propter dispendia pa-

¹ Cf. *Vita S. Adalberti Pragensis episcopi altera, auctore Brunone Querfurtensi, red. long.*, c. 31: *infinita angustia laborant circa extremam horam*.

² The older generation of Polish scholars claimed that Bolesław Chrobry was meant to be Otto III's heir to the throne and that he was crowned by the emperor personally on the occasion of his pilgrimage to Gniezno as his *amicus* and *coimperator*. This hypothesis is based upon the isolated and one century later chronicle of Gallus Anonymus and has been mostly abandoned in modern scholarship, which has since increasingly adopted the hypothesis that Bolesław obtained only the title of *patricius*. After a long war against the successor of Otto III, Henry II from the house of Salians, Bolesław was finally crowned king in 1025, only a few months before his death.

[VIII]

Concerning the holy men Benedict and John, as their ears were struck by the news of the emperor's death, for whose love and salvation they had undertaken such a laborious journey, their hearts were seized with infinite anxiety.¹ And it had been, among other good things, a noble custom of the emperor that, although he had also loved vain and worldly men because of his young age, he preferred good men and sought to love them the better he knew them to be, be they laymen or clerics, especially if he knew that they were servants of God. And nobody lamented his death with greater grief than Bolesław, by whose hospitality the holy men Benedict and John stayed in the hermitage and on whom before all others the young king had fruitlessly wished to confer many good things.² This Bolesław, if he has any faith, should preserve the emperor's soul in his memory more than anyone else.

[IX]

After the emperor's death, the Christian world turned against its own entrails and was boiling with battles and rumors about battles with a force like that of a storm at sea; which has never been worse than it is today, as we have merited for our sins; and while all pagans were at peace and assailing the Christians with impunity, the Christian kingdoms began to wage war among themselves with injurious hatred, in fierce and untiring battle.³ But as wound comes upon wound,⁴ in that great sadness I was struck by an even greater grief, since the loss of peace and unremitting warfare made

³ This refers to the Polish-German war; Bruno was appalled that two Christian rulers fought each other while the evangelization of the pagans was neglected. See his *Epistola ad Heinricum regem*.

⁴ Cf. Job 16: 15: *concidit me vulnere super vulnus*.

cis et nullam requiem bellorum non patuit mihi uia eundi Romam, acquirere licentiam euangelizare paganis. Mirantur ergo iam sepius supradicti sancti, quam ob rem accepta licentia non uenirem. Increpatur negligentia, cur moram facerem, cur non timens incurrerem mendacium, hoc inuerecunda fronte ita firme promitterem, quod implere negligerem; hoc sepius dicentes, se eo loci uenire nec cogitasse, nisi ego suasissem, et animum imperatoris talia implere fecissem; sua terra plures et pulchras solitudines esse, in quibus solitariam uitam ducere possent; non ea causa talem laborem subisse, ut ignota terra in heremo stare delectasset, uerum quod magna bona creat, euangelizare paganis angelicum quesissent commodum, intrare horrisonum paganismum; maxime flos iuuentutis, Benedictus, qui uim pati regnum cęlorum nimio feruore melioris uite coegit,¹ ualde uolens omne bonum. Non maiorem laborem mundus armis pugnando habuit, quam ipsi sancti curarum alternationibus cogitando habuerunt—quamuis ibi inter mundanos uanitas et superbia, hic autem in cordibus sanctorum Deus et ueritas causa fuere—hoc solum timentes, ne priusquam in Dei seruicio legitime militarent, per nullas magnas tribulationes, per quas oportet intrare in regnum cęlorum, ingloriam et inutilem uitam finirent: Sicut conuersionem imperatoris mors media crudeliter interfecit, que opera bona claudit, ita nos quibus uita superstes est, ne dormiamus, admonet. Sic loquuntur, affectusque mouebant gaudentium animorum. Omnibus uero uotis, ut testatur discipulus eorum, qui adhuc uiuit,² aduentum meum expectare ceperunt, qui apostolici oris uenerabilem licentiam ferre debui, et cuius excitatio nobiles spiritus detulit eo loci. Me autem reum criminis et immundum conuersionis, ne uenire dignus essem, multa peccata tenuerunt, eo quod mala mea et plura mala, et bona mea infirma et mixta uiciis

¹ Cf. Matt. 11: 12: *a diebus autem Iohannis Baptistae usque nunc regnum caelorum uim patitur et violenti rapiunt illud.*

² Bruno is probably referring here to Barnabas, whom he mentions later on as someone who served at the hermitage at the time when the five brethren were still alive, and is the abbot of the monastery at the time of his writing. Cf. Cosmas, ch. 38.

it impossible for me to go to Rome in order to obtain license for evangelizing the pagans. Those holy men often wondered why I did not come after I had received the license. They rebuked my negligence: Why did I tarry? Why had I fearlessly lied to them, promising firmly and shamelessly to their faces what I would not fulfill? Often they said that they would have never thought of coming so far had I not persuaded them and also bent the emperor's mind to arrange the venture; that there were plenty of beautiful solitudes in their own land, in which they could have led an eremitic life; and that they had not gone through such efforts simply for the pleasure of staying at the hermitage in a foreign land; but in order to seek the angelic benefit that creates great goods, namely to evangelize the pagans, to enter the terrifying pagan domains. Most of all, it troubled Benedict, the flower of youth, who with his extraordinary fervor of better life forced the kingdom of heaven to suffer violence,¹ wishing very much all that was good. The world had not endured greater strain while fighting with arms than were the worries that plagued the saints while thinking of various courses to take—but whereas there, among worldly people, the reasons were vanity and pride, here, in the hearts of the holy men, it was God and the truth. For the only thing they feared was that they should end their lives ingloriously and pointlessly before they had properly done service in God's army, and that they should suffer no great tribulations through which one enters into the heavenly kingdom; for "just as sudden death, which closes good deeds, has cruelly prevented the emperor's conversion, so it admonishes us, who are still living, not to sleep." Thus they spoke, and changed the disposition of their joyful souls. With all their prayers, as one of their disciples, who is still living, testifies,² they began to expect my arrival, since I was supposed to bring the venerable license from the apostolic lips; and it was my exhortations that had brought the noble spirits to that place. But I, guilty of my misdoing and impure in my ways, was unworthy of coming, being kept back by many sins, since my bad traits were many and my good traits were weak and mixed with vice, according to the words: *Hand to hand, the evil man shall not be*

fuerunt, iuxta illud: *Manus ad manum, non erit innocens malus*.¹ Et psalmista: *Inquinatę sunt uię illius in omni tempore*.² Et quamuis tunc, ubi in heremo steti in Latina terra, parum boni fecissem, locum tamen cito dimittere recte timebam, iuxta illud: *In quocumque loco sederis, cito ne dimittas*.³ Quamuis etiam nec unam salutem inuenisset mecum iocans diabolus, tunc aliis promittebam; sed tamen nunc desiderium monet, ne sedeam, nunc miseria tenet, ne eam, ualde timens timenda, ne inganniret me diabolica cogitatio, si maiora sperans cellam dimitterem et uacuum uiam relinquerem^a, et quas quesui nihil diuiciarum inuenirem in manibus meis, sicut scriptum est: Sunt uię que uidentur hominibus rectę,⁴ quarum finis usque ad profundum inferni dimergit,⁵ et secundum illud: Vir in laboribus laborat sibi et uim facit perdicionis suę.⁶

[X]

Accidit interea, ut una die qui consilium querere et fratres uisitare ambulauit, quidam spiritu ductus ad meam cellam ueniret mihique inter illa que interrogare uenit, indignum facinus miserabili querimonia narraret: Nuper, inquit, in Arimino^{b,7}, insurrexere totus populus contra unum nobilem uirum quem nosti, monachum Rothulfum, eo quod uelut homo sapiens secundum seculum adiuuit Leonem episcopum⁸ de palacio, qui contendens pro fidelitate regis, et suo questu, multam pecuniam adquisiuit in illo comitatu.

^a reliqui *Karw*.

^b Arimino *corr. Kętrziński*: Armenia c.

¹ Prov. 11: 21. Cf. Prov 16: 5: *omnis arrogans etiam si manus ad manum fuerit non erit innocens*.

² Ps. 9: 26.

³ One of the three precepts of Saint Anthony, which I, however, managed to find reported only in the 13th c. *Golden Legend* by Jacobus de Voragine.

⁴ Cf. Prov. 16: 25: *est via quae uidetur homini recta et novissimum eius ducit ad mortem*.

⁵ Cf. Luke 10: 15: *et tu Capharnaum usque in caelum exaltata usque ad infernum demergeris*.

*innocent.*¹ And the psalmist: *His ways are filthy at all times.*² And although at the time when I was staying at the hermitage in the Latin land, I did but a little good, I still rightly feared to leave the place rashly, according to that verse: In whichever place you have settled, do not leave it rashly.³ Even though the devil that was teasing me did not get from me a single greeting, still I had made my promise to the others then; and yet in one moment my desire was urging me not to remain in the place, while in another my misery kept me from going, since I greatly feared what was to be feared, namely that diabolical thoughts might deceive me if I left my cell in expectation of greater things. Thus I postponed the way and abandoned the journey empty-handed; and that I might find in my hands nothing of the riches that I was looking for, as it is written: There are ways that seem to a man right,⁴ and the ends thereof throw one into the depths of hell;⁵ and likewise: He that labors, labors for himself and makes it the way of his perdition.⁶

[X]

In the meantime, it happened that one day a man, who had come to seek advice and visit the brethren, came to my cell guided by the Holy Spirit; and among other things that he asked me, he related this terrible event in pitiful lamentation: “Only recently,” he said, “in Rimini,⁷ the entire people rose up against a noble man whom you know, the monk Rothulf. As a man versed in worldly things, he was assisting Leo,⁸ bishop of the palace, who had fought for the king’s cause and his own gain, and acquired great riches in that

⁶ Cf. Prov. 16, 26: *anima laborantis laborat sibi quia compulit eum os suum*; Prov 16, 29: *vir iniquus lactat amicum suum et ducit eum per viam non bonam*.

⁷ The text reads *Armenia*, but the episode is mentioned in another source as referring to Rimini in Italy, *Miracula s. Rufilli*, 5 (*Analecta Bollandiana* 1, 115).

⁸ Leo Guarini, bishop of Vercelli (999–1026), chancellor of the imperial palace, whose signature is found in 1001 on a document regarding the monastery of St Apollinaris in Classe.

Non profuit arrepta fuga peruenisse intra sancta sanctorum; ceci ira, pleni demone, non solum inter confessionem, sed de ipso altari sancti Gaudencii latitantem foras traxere, et non contenti simpliciter interficere, primum manus et brachia amputarunt, post pedes et crura, frustatim ut canes solent, totum corpus dilaniauerunt. Ad hec ego ultra quam credi potest conterritus: Heu me! inquit, nonne alio die sedimus ad unam mensam, et nil minus cogitantes quam mori, uno pane, uno pisce pasti sumus? Mihi quoque multum ad cor carus erat, quamuis contra legem secularibus negociis militaret, et quia eadem karitate me dilexit, inuenta occasione Deo eum lucrari cogitabam. Quid facimus, frater? Vere *milicia est uita hominis super terram*.¹ Ecce hodie qui nobiscum sunt et uiuunt, tolluntur de medio; et nec sic expauescimus, et quasi numquam sit relinquens nos, misere amamus hanc non stantem uitam cum amara dulcedine pereuntium rerum. Illo autem abeunte qui ista retulit de monacho occiso, stimulare me talis cogitatio cepit: Ultra quid stas? inquit. Iam nullas necte moras, arripe uiam. Saluatorem euangelizando, melius morieris in pagana terra, quam hic aliqua die sine fructu in hac infirma palude. Iterum ergo negligens, quem impia mora turbauit, hoc responsum dedi animo meo, quo nouis cogitationibus respondere mihi uir sanctissimus iste Benedictus in usu habebat: Non tibi credo, cantans illud de propheta: *Expecta, reexpecta, modicum ibi, modicum ibi*.² Non post multos tamen dies, animatus salutaribus preceptis abbatis mei, cupido animo et tardo crure Romam ueni, ubi ab ore apostolici papę euangelizandi licentiam impetraui.

Et post multos labores de grandi uia maris et terrę Reinesburch ueni, que antiquo nomine uocabatur Radixbona. Ibi tum, quia bella non parcebant et uia plena erat hostium, a regione Sclauorum, ubi sancti par fratres aduentum meum multa molestia expectabant, equum itineris deflexi, et de promissionis fallacia, et de peccato

¹ Job 7: 1.

² Isa. 28: 10.

county. Rothulf tried to flee and took refuge in the sanctuary, but it was of no use; blind with rage and possessed with demons, they not only dragged him outside from the confessional, but also from the very altar of Saint Gaudentius, where he was hiding, and not satisfied with simply killing him, they first cut off his hands and arms, then feet and legs, piece by piece, like dogs, tearing to shreds his entire body." To this I responded, terrified more than can be believed: "Woe to me!" I exclaimed. "Did we not sit the other day at the same table, thinking of nothing less than of dying, and ate of the same bread, of the same fish? He was very dear to my heart, too, even though he dedicated himself to worldly business against divine law; and since he loved me the same, I was planning to win him over for God when the occasion arose. What shall we do, brother? Truly, *the life of man upon earth is a warfare*.¹ Behold, those who are with us and living today are snatched from our midst in a moment; and still we fail to take fright, and wretchedly love this unstable life with its bitter sweetness of transitory things as if it were never to abandon us." When the man who told me about the murdered monk left, thoughts began to vex me: "Why are you still here?" I said. "Tarry no longer, take to the road; you should better die evangelizing for the Savior in the land of the pagans than some day here in vain, in this fruitless swamp." And then, as I was again neglectful and troubled by this reprehensible procrastination, I gave the same answer to my mind with which the most saintly man Benedict used to respond to my new ideas: "I do not believe you," singing the words of the prophet: *Expect, expect again: a little there, a little there*.² After a few days, however, enlivened by the salutary advice of my abbot, I came to Rome with an eager heart and a tardy step, and obtained there the license to evangelize from the lips of the Apostolic Father. And after great labors, making a long journey by sea and land, I reached Regensburg, which of old was called Radixbona. There, since the warfare was raging and the road was full of enemies, I turned my horse away from the region of the Slavs, where the saintly couple of brethren were expecting my arrival in great distress, and there remained not a shadow of remembrance in my heart of the falseness of my

fraternę deceptionis nec memorię umbra in corde meo remansit. Et dimissis Pruzis, quo propter nouum sanctum, Adalbertum occisum, iustior me causa duxisset, Nigris Ungris, quo tunc uersus in partes orientis nauim conscendi, sinistro opere et infirmo humero euangelium portare cepi, hec dicens in corde meo: Non *dedero somnum oculis meis*, nec requiem temporibus meis, *donec inueniam* Christum,¹ cui uita hominis, dies et nox tota uacare debet, cui propter nocturnos timores qui hominis dulcem salutem furantur, plus quia ualet cor, tota mens et album opus semper cum adiutorio Dei ardere debet. Non enim scio, si post modicum tollat me Factor meus. Vere sicut scriptum est: *Longe a salute mea*²—quia iam prope erat, quod seruos suos uiriliter agonizantes dominus Deus clemens remunerari uoluit, et me canem ad sanctos, et me porcum ad margaritas uenire dignum non erat—non iniuria, quia nolui uenire ad eos qui me expectauerunt cum tanta tribulatione tot dies, tot noctes, cum sanctis sanctus, cum electis electus, quin potius esse ut miser et miserabilis sarabaita,³ in propria uoluntate, et spinosus hypocrita in uana gloria, dedi alienis honorem meum et annos meos crudeli;⁴ dumque mihi est uoluptas pro lege et placet errare per mundum in desideriis meis, qui preparatus sum multis dominis seruire,⁵ ne me inueniret querenda salus Dei, abii uagus in uiam cordis mei iuxta illud: *Cum peruerso peruerteris*,⁶ et iterum: Dulcedo illius uermis, et obliuiscatur eum misericordia eius,⁷ quod est iuxta peruersorum merita periculosum.

Ac non sic ille cęlicola Benedictus, tenax ueri et memor promissi, acceptis decem libris argenti, quibus tam forte iter explere posset,

¹ Cf. Ps. 131, 4–5: *si dedero somnum oculis meis et palpebris meis dormitationem et requiem temporibus meis donec inueniam locum Domino tabernaculum Deo.*

² Ps. 21: 2.

³ Chapter 1, 12 of the Benedictine Rule defines sarabaites as false monks, observing no rule and without a shepherd.

⁴ Cf. Prov. 5: 9: *ne des alienis honorem tuum et annos tuos crudeli.*

⁵ Cf. Matt. 6: 24: *nemo potest duobus dominis seruire.*

promise or the sin of brotherly deception. And giving up the Prussians, to whom a more righteous cause would have taken me because of the recently murdered Saint Adalbert, I began to bring the Gospel, with my misguided labor and my weak shoulders, to the Black Hungarians, having embarked on a ship bound for the Eastern regions, and I was saying in my heart: I will not *give sleep to my eyes*, or slumber to my temples, *until I find Christ*.¹ He is the one to whom people's life should be devoted day and night; whom all their mind and their white deeds should always burn for, with God's help, more than their hearts are capable of, because of nocturnal fears which steal the desirable salvation from men. For I do not know whether my Creator will soon summon me. Truly indeed, it happened as it is written: *Far from my salvation*,² for the day was near when our Lord, merciful God, wished to remunerate his bravely combating servants and He did not deign to make me, the dog, come to the saints, me, the swine, to the pearls; and I had deserved it, since I would not come to those who expected me in such tribulation, so many days and so many nights, saint with the saints, elect with the elect, but would rather, a wretched and miserable sarabaite,³ be in my own will and a twisted hypocrite in my vainglory; thus I gave my honor unto strangers, and my years unto the cruel⁴; and since I treat passion as my law and it pleases me to wonder around the world in my desires, prepared to serve more than one master,⁵ and avoiding God's salvation, which is to be sought for, I went astray from the path of my heart, according to the words: *With the perverse thou wilt be perverted*⁶; and again: may worms be his sweetness: let his mercy remember him no more,⁷ which peril is the reward of the corrupt. Benedict, however, was different and it was not in this way that he, that dweller in heaven, who was tenacious in truth and kept his promises, accepted ten pounds of silver in order to be able to undertake the hard journey and decided on his own, touched by divine goodness,

⁶ Ps. 17: 27.

⁷ Cf. Job 24: 20: *obliviscatur eius misericordia dulcedo illius vermes non sit in recordatione*.

me qui ad eum uenire nolui,¹ per se diuina bonitate tactus uisitare uenit. Unus autem illorum, quem nouicius feruor in heremum duxit, qui in seruicio cęlesti et in sana doctrina locum custodire debuit, id est iam sepe supradictus Iohannes, sedebat domi, minus feruens desiderio euangelizandi, plus paciens. Non enim se ligabat talibus causis, qui tranquilla et equa mente, quicquid euenit ferre solebat, expectans uoluntatem de celo, et miserans illam sanctam beati Benedicti inquietudinem, quam uulnerata karitate anima eius in multo dolore et currente sudore per uiscera misericordię gerebat. Vix, credo, inter electos Dei de feruore Ihesu Christi umquam talem et numquam maiorem aliquis potest uidere, quam hic Benedictus fuit, de quo agitur, qui nulli placere in uita sua querens nisi domino Deo, numquam habebat requiem, priusquam in se quantum erat, deuotissime compleret, quod quamuis durum et asperum esset, placere sciebat in oculis Dei secundum illud: Non enim facio animam meam preciosiorem, quam me.² Ita et tunc nocte ac die hec erat sola eius cogitatio, quomodo euangelizandi licentiam acquireret, aut acquisita licentia me inuentum uisitasset. Huius rei gratia illa beati Benedicti sancta precordia plena tribulationis et angustię sine misericordia doloris, sine mensura temporis, traxere gemitus et suspiria. Et cum ille alter sanctus, id est beatus Iohannes, diuinis iudiciis humiliter flectens colla, sapientia morum omnia pacienter sufferret et dono Dei domitum animum facile refrenare posset, ut quia non potuit esse quod uoluit, uellet quod esse posset. Hic solus Benedictus fluctuabat et impaciens temporis luctando et male uiuendo secum pugnauit, ne fraudaretur a sancto desiderio et ne in purpurea spe perderet auream rem, propter quam patriam dimisit, ubi pluribus prodesse posset, et ignotę linguę terram inter montes, flumina et ualles exulando, ingenti labore intrauit, iamque Sclauonicam linguam intelligere et satis bene loqui paratum habebat; et in quo consilio ambo erant, decreuit sibi tondere totum caput, ue-

¹ Cf. Cosmas, ch. 38, where the hermits persistently refuse to take any silver from the duke.

² Cf. Acts 20: 24: *nec facio animam pretiosiore[m] quam me.*

to visit me, since I would not come to him.¹ But one of them, that is, the John often mentioned above, whom the fervor of a novice had led to the eremitic life and who was bound to keep his place in heavenly service and salutary learning, remained at home, as he burned less with the desire to evangelize and was more patient. For he did not bind himself to such motives and bore everything that happened with a calm and even mind, awaiting the will of heaven and pitying the restlessness of blessed Benedict, which the latter's soul suffered in its depths of mercy because of wounded love, in much pain and sweating heavily. Scarcely, I believe, could you see among the elect of God anyone his equal and certainly none greater in fervor for Jesus Christ than was that Benedict, about whom I am speaking; for he sought to please none in his life but the Lord God; and so he never rested before he most devoutly fulfilled all he could to the utmost of his ability, however hard and severe, if he knew it was pleasing in the eyes of God, according to the verse: Neither do I count my life more precious than myself.² So too then, night and day, his only thought was how to obtain the license to evangelize and, once he had obtained it, to find and join me. Because of that, the holy breast of blessed Benedict was full of tribulation and anxiety, groaning and sighing without mitigation of pain or bounds of time. And whereas that other holy man, that is, blessed John, humbly bowed his head before the divine judgments and bore all things patiently out of the wisdom of his nature, able to restrain easily his spirit, which had been tamed by the gift of God so that, if what he wanted could not be, he wanted what could be, Benedict alone was restless and fought with himself, impatient with time, struggling and living badly, fearing to be cheated of his holy desire and lose in the bright hue of hope the golden reality for which he had left his homeland, where he could have been of much benefit to others, and traveled in exile with huge effort, through mountains, rivers, and valleys, and entered a land of an unknown tongue. And now they had come to understand and speak quite well the Slavonic language, he had a counseling with John and decided to cut all his hair and put on male clothing, such as is worn by seculars, in order to win over with his appearance the

stem sumere uirilem, qualem seculares gerunt, ut paganorum oculos aspectu mulceret, ne dum nouitate uestium primo cursu exhorrent, nec ad se uenire aliquibus locum dedissent, et quod ita esse potuit, habitu corporis nec ueste diuersus, eo facilius locum predicationis inueniret, sicque cum occasione et, qua ubique necesse est, cum discretionem ad uiam salutis dirigere posset.

[XI]

Ergo de loco suo, ubi tunc in uasta heremo pulcher agricola proficiens sedebat, post me, toto desiderio animi quem querere uolebat, leto incepto raptam uiam secat, donec dimissis post tergum Polanicis terris, lacere Boemię contiguos fines tetigit maximamque urbem huius regionis, quondam nobilem Pragam, nouus hospes subiit. Hac ciuitate quem dum importunis secularibus celestia amat, ut insontem ouem diuerso seruicio funestus frater occidit, multa misericordia signorum suam sanctitatem loquens, rex eius terre, Wentizlaws, martyr iacet.¹ Hac etiam in urbe, qualem nunc inuenire nusquam fas est, episcopus prefuit, preciosum animal quem quia audire noluit iniusticia impiorum, sacrilegis moribus in fugam uerterunt et in aurea Roma, quam hortum sancti Petri desiderantes peregrini appellant, monachicum habitum sumere pium Adalbertum coegerunt. Rursus contra suam uoluntatem pro utilitate pastoris reuerti coactum, cum promissa morum correctio nulla sequeretur, bonam fugam arripere secunda uice coegit, donec tercio uexato malis illorum operibus ad eius maiorem leticiam: Nolumus te episcopum—palam uocibus dixere. Sed quoniam *diligentibus Deum omnia cooperantur in bonum*,² iustum Adalbertum non contristauit, quicquid ei acciderat. Dum Christum paganorum auribus

¹ Wenceslas, Duke of Bohemia, assassinated by his brother in 935; see his hagiography by Gumpold of Mantua in the present volume.

² Rom. 8: 28.

eyes of the pagans, lest they should be affrighted by the novelty of dress at the first contact and not allow anyone to approach them. This way, as they hoped, since he would not differ from them either in his bearing or in his dress, he would find more easily an opportunity for preaching, and so might be able, when the occasion arose and with a discretion that is necessary in all things, to guide them to the path of salvation.

[XI]

Thus, he left his place, where he had been sitting and making progress in vast solitude like a beautiful ploughman, and with a joyful start sped on his hasty way after me, whom he wanted to find with all the desire of his spirit, until, having left the Polish lands behind his back, he touched the adjoining border of savagely wounded Bohemia and entered as a new visitor into the largest city of that region, once noble Prague. In that city lies the king of that land, the martyr Wenceslas,¹ who now proclaims his sanctity with a great mercy of miracles and who preferred the things of heaven to the troublesome affairs of this world, because of which his murderous brother slaughtered him like an innocent sheep, acting as his enemy rather than his servant. Also in that city there used to be a bishop, pious Adalbert, a precious being whose like we are not granted to find these days, but whom the citizens forced to flee with their sacrilegious customs, since the injustice of the impious did not want to listen to him, compelling him to take the monastic habit in golden Rome, which the pilgrims who long for it call the garden of saint Peter. And he was compelled to return against his will, to serve as a shepherd, but the promised correction of morals did not take place and he was forced to make a good escape for the second time, until the third time, vexed by their evil deeds, he heard them shout openly, and to his greater joy: "We do not want you for our bishop." But *to them that love God all things work together unto good*,² and thus righteous Adalbert was not saddened by whatever had befallen him. As he was pouring Christ into the

ingerit, interficitur septem uulneribus ad nouam gratiam et multam gloriam modernorum temporum episcopus et melior monachus, pulchro loquente uultu uir angelicus, desiderabili martyrio preciosus ille Adalbertus. Post cuius felicem triumphum, qui ex ore sana monentis et sancte uiuentis uerba episcopi non hauserunt, nunc mutuis dextris sua corpora laniantes, se inuicem occidunt, et ex illa hora qua eius insontes fratres capite truncarunt, in sua uiscera irato ferro parcere nec sciunt, nec queunt. Tandem sero penitentes, quia quem uolentes nunc habere non possunt, tunc nolentes ceu contrarium operibus suis profugum fecerunt; sicque mali christiani non sponte sancto bona ministrauere, dum suo pastori paganos adire licentiam dedere, ubi predicando portans uitam eternam, accepit ab eis mortem temporaneam, de qua canitur in laude iustorum: *Preciosa in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius*.¹

Ad hanc tunc sontem Boemiam et suam dirutam metropolim, cum iustus iste Benedictus intraret, uoluit pedester uiam arripere, ut quia ubique uiam bella non dabant, eo facilius, quo sine equo esset, laboriosius ad me, quem dulce et uere diligebat, perueniret.

Erat autem hiems magna bellorum et totis lacertis mouebatur, et propterea iter erat inuium, ut nec ipsis nunciis, quibus antiquissimo iure securitas eundi sancitur, aperta uia nisi cum periculo pateret. Hac de causa qui primo in hoc opus argentum letus Bolizlao dux dedit,² ne moueret pedem beatus Benedictus in tam seuo discrimine dissidentium rerum et incideret in hostem, magno conamine eum impedire studebat; et carere tam iusto homine timor fuit. Cogitur enim amans talia sperare, qui ante contristare sanctum quam se frustrare tanto patrono cencies potuit. Itaque, uidens Benedictus intercisum iter, quod dilectio mei pulchra ratione imperabat—nil preter solitum—multum tristis esse cepit, testatus

¹ Ps. 115: 6.

² Cf. *Vita b. Romualdi*, ch. 29.

ears of the pagans, that angelic man whose beautiful face spoke, that good bishop and even better monk, that precious Adalbert, was murdered with seven wounds in desirable martyrdom, to the new grace and great glory of modern times. Following his blissful triumph, those who had not heeded the bishop's words, though they were coming from the mouth of one who admonished to salvation and lived a holy life, lacerated each other's limbs with their own right hands and slew each other; and from the hour in which they decapitated his innocent brothers, they neither could nor did halt the sword raging against their own entrails. Too late they repented at last; now they wanted him, but could not have him, while before they did not want him but rather forced him to exile with their deeds; in this way, those bad Christians unwittingly administered a good service to the holy man, since they gave their shepherd the permission to go to the pagans and there, as he was bringing them eternal life in his preaching, he received in return temporal death from them, of which it is sung in the praise of the righteous: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints.*¹

And as righteous Benedict entered that guilty Bohemia and its ruined metropolis, he wanted to continue his way on foot, since roads were everywhere blocked by warfare and he thought he might reach me, whom he loved sweetly and truly, more easily without a horse, though also with more labor.

It was a great winter of warfare and agitation reigned everywhere, and for this reason the road was impassable, so that even the messengers, who were granted safety of passage by an ancient law, ran great danger if they traveled the road. Duke Bolesław, who at first gladly gave silver for this venture,² now tried with all his might to prevent blessed Benedict from setting off in such fierce peril of conflict, lest he might fall in the hands of the enemy; for he was afraid of losing such a righteous man. It was love that compelled him to entertain such hopes, for he preferred a hundred times to sadden the saint than to deprive himself of such a patron. Thus, as Benedict saw that his journey was cut off—the beautiful motive for which

quantum de me curasset, quem quia uisere non licuit, amarissime fleuit. In luctu deducens *diuisiones aquarum*,¹ humectat tristem uultum largo flumine² ob considerata opera sua, quorum culpa in talem rerum angustiam deueniret, ut nec diu expectatum desiderium domum ueniret, nec hoc ipsi foras querere liceret; merito se talia pati, inquit, qui incautus fuit, nil in futurum prospexit, et relicta terra ubi plures lucrari posset, querens, quod non inuenit, sua propria perdidisset; et nil prodesset, quod bona intentione ad illam regionem uenit, ubi nullo amore sequentium fratrum labor suus appareret, et quod hostes haberet, et habere bonum desiderium prope iaceret, secundum illud: Si recte offeras et non recte discernas, peccasti.³ Et iterum: *Velle mihi adiacet, perficere autem bonum non inuenio*.⁴ Et: *Cepisse multorum est, ad calcem autem peruenisse paucorum*.⁵ Nunc irascitur seniori Bolizlao, qui illum dimittere nolens, qui nulla timeret, bellorum et hostium superuacua occasionem obiecit, nunc notat culpam meam, qui cum prope essem et promissionis debitum reddere possem—quod uerum erat—tunc temporis eum uidere nolui. Nam sicut semper peccatoribus inuisus est aspectus sanctorum, quando magistrum cēlestem uidere uellem, qui contemptus, soluto freno post meam uoluntatem uelocius equo cucurri? Qui si decreui interesse spiritualibus officiis, ut tamen non carerem secularibus commodis, sicut ambiguo seruicio colerem Ihesu Christi amorem, ut tamen odio non haberem decipientem mundum, secundum illud: *Senatorem perdidisti, monachum non fecisti*.⁶ Et iterum: *Ve peccatori ingredienti terram*

¹ Prov. 21: 1.

² Vergil, *Aeneid* I, 465: *multa gemens largoque humectat flumine vultum*.

³ Cf. Gen. 4: 7 (in the Septuagint): *si recte offeras, recte autem non divides, peccasti*.

⁴ Rom. 7: 18.

⁵ The source has not been identified, except as the incipit of Jerome's sermon *De perseverantia* in a *Florilegium* from the 13th century, Huntington Library, MS HM 26960, among the items on folios 110–123v (where, however, *culmen* appears instead of *calcem*).

⁶ These are the words of Saint Basil directed against Syncretism and they are quoted by Cassian in the *Institutions* 7, 19, ed. Jean-Claude Guy, *Sources chrétiennes* 109 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1965), 320. Cf. note 273 in Edgar C.S. Gibson's translation, *The Twelve Books of John Cassian on the Institutes of the Coenobia, and the Remedies for*

was his love for me (nothing unusual!)—he became very sad, having thus asserted how much he cared for me, and wept most bitterly because he was not allowed to look for me. And in his grief his tears fell like the *divisions of water*,¹ and he bathed his sad face with plenteous tears² while he reflected upon his deeds, for the fault of which things had come to such a pass that he could neither see his long awaited desire satisfied, nor was he able to go in search of it. “It serves me right to suffer in this way,” he said, “since I was careless and did not look at all into the future, but left the land in which I could have won over so many persons, looking for something that I did not find and meanwhile losing what had been my own, and all this to no benefit.” He had come to that region with good intentions, but his efforts were not seen to gain him any love with the brethren that followed him, and he had enemies: his good intentions fell short of the mark, according to the words: If you offer aright and not discern aright, you have sinned.³ And again: *For to will, is present with me; but how to accomplish that which is good, I find not.*⁴ And: *Many have started, but few have reached the end.*⁵ At one moment, he was angry with lord Bolesław because he would not let him go, for he was not afraid of anything and protested against the irrelevant pretexts of wars and enemies; at another, he remembered my guilt, since although I was close and could have fulfilled my promise, at that time—which was true—I did not want to see him. For as the face of the saints is always hateful to sinners, when should I have wanted to see my heavenly master, I, a contemptible man, who ran faster than a horse with loosened reins, following my own will? For I had decided to devote myself to spiritual tasks so as not to deprive myself of secular benefits either, but to honor the love of Jesus Christ in an ambiguous service; so as not to hate the deceptive world, according to that: *You have lost the senator, but you have not made a monk.*⁶ And again: *Woe to the sin-*

the Eight Principal Faults (Buffalo, NY: Christian Literature Publishing Co., 1894). It is interesting that Gibson considers erroneous and groundless the reading of Alardus Gazaeus (MPL 49, 312), who interprets *Synecletius* as *Synecleticus*, i.e. “senator”, but that is precisely the reading that Bruno adopts in his quotation, most probably from the *Vitas patrum*, from which the quotation was known.

*duabus uiis,*¹ et: *Nemo potest gaudere cum seculo et regnare cum Christo.*²

[XII]

Ergo sanctus Benedictus multifariis doloribus querelam cordis eiciens, cum sat ploraret, nimia tristitia affligens cor suum, quia opera sua effectum non habuerunt, uacuis ad fratrem Iohannem redit. Unum uero fratrem, qui cęlestium amore delectatus tunc sub illorum magisterio in heremo militauit, nunc uero eidem sacro loco abbas studio spiritualis disciplinę preest—quia huius fratris iter dux Bolizlao non prohibuit—ad unam consolationem in tanto tedio cęlestium incendiorum³ pro acquirenda apostolica licentia, que est mundi domina et mater ecclesiarum, Romam transmissit, hoc iniungens et superponens ad eius sollicitam obedienciam, ne preteriret uocare me, cuius instinctu has Sclauonicas terras uisitauerat, et me inuento, si haberem licentiam, de magna uia cito ueniret, si non haberem, peteret a me aliquem socium itineris Romam eundi pro acquirenda licentia, ut ceptum iter perageret. Et quia sicut de certis breue est amanti, ita de incertis longum sperare timent, ut recens dolor suę magnitudinem amaritudinis plus temperaret, quando ueniat missus diem mittens prescribit, scilicet aut in memoria Omnium Sanctorum redeundi primas inducias, aut in festo sancti Martyni postremas haberet, oblitus, credo, propter instantem necessitatem et uim dolorum, quia secundum regulam qua uixit, nihil monachus definire debeat, sacra Collatio patrum imperio dixit. Rapit uiam discipulus a beato Benedicto missus de rudi heremo et quia me nusquam uagum inuenit, pro cuius ignauia

¹ Sirach 2: 14.

² Cf. Jerome, *Ep. XXII Ad Heliodorum*, MPL 22, 354: *Delicatus es, frater, si hic vis gaudere cum saeculo et postea regnare cum Christo.*

³ Bruno's obscure Latin also allows for the following interpretation: "in view of this great setback to his burning desire for heavenly things".

ner walking the earth by a double path;¹ and: Nobody can rejoice with the world and reign with Christ.²

[XII]

Thus, saintly Benedict was expressing the complaints of his heart with manifold grief and abundant tears, while great sadness was afflicting his heart because his deeds remained without result, and he returned with empty hands to brother John. But then there was another brother, who delighted in love of heavenly things and was at that time serving at the hermitage under their supervision, whereas now he is the abbot of the same holy place and responsible for spiritual discipline. Since Duke Bolesław did not forbid that brother's journey, Benedict sent him to Rome, which is the mistress of the world and the mother of churches, in order to obtain the apostolic license, since it was the only comfort left in so much suffering inflicted on him by heavenly scourges,³ and he commanded him above all and imposed on him careful obedience that he should by no means omit to call me, upon whose impetus he had come to these Slavonic lands, and when he had found me, then if I had the license, he should return from the great journey directly, and if I did not have it, he should ask of me some companion in order to proceed to Rome and obtain the license, so that he could complete the journey he had started. And since the one who loves finds waiting for things that are certain short, while the one who fears finds waiting for things that are uncertain long, in order that this fresh pain might mitigate his great bitterness, when sending the brother he set up the dates on which he should return, namely the day of All Saints at the earliest and the feast day of Saint Martin at the latest, forgetting, I believe, because of the pressing necessity and the strength of his grief, that according to the Rule he professed a monk should not define anything, which the holy *Conversations* of the Fathers impose as a mandate. The disciple sent by blessed Benedict set off from the rough hermitage and, since he could not find me, the vagabond, anywhere, because of whose in-

longum desiderium in tribulationem uenit, apostolicę iussionis ut ille licitum quereret, recte Romam tetendit.

[XIII]

Ipse uero Benedictus ubi recreat amarum animum, reuersus ad dulce desiderium more solito uitam agebat, accingens se ut uir amaritudine presentium, omni autem desiderabili et precioso solatio sequentium bonorum. Cui inter multa bona unum solum bonum, inter tot pulchras beatitudines, que animos mortalium capiunt et accensos in uanum currere cogunt, una sola beatitudo, uidelicet timor Domini sanctus animum eius cum potestate possedit, sciens in media tribulatione inuocare Deum uiuum, obponens contra damnandum cupiditatis appetitum abrenuntiationis perfectum contemptum mundi; ut cui preter se nulla debetur possessio in terra, nil quod non est Deus concupiscere in terra nouit, habens ante oculos memoriam gloriosę eternitatis, que est uita sapientis, noctem quoque manentis sine fine supplicii beatitudinemque regni futuri semper mente reuoluens, quam gignit dux itineris ad cælum, aurea discretio, et meditatio omnium uirtutum.

Tota illa estate usque ad ingenuum festum Omnium Sanctorum sederunt firma mente, in oratione et ieiunio, expectantes illud apostolicum: *Donec uirtute induamini ex alto*.¹ Tanta autem erat concordia sanctorum illorum fratrum, ut quicquid unus uellet, alter etiam nolens uellet in cella, in opere, in ueste, in uita, in oratione; quomodo unus uolebat, alter nec parum discrepare propter amorem fraternitatis et periculum uoluntatis curabat. Una men-

¹ Luke 24: 49.

dolence the long-lasting desire had turned into tribulation, he proceeded straight to Rome in order to apply for that permission of apostolic ordinance.

[XIII]

Meanwhile Benedict, setting aside his bitterness, returned to his sweet desire and lived his life in the usual way, girding himself like a man in the face of bitterness of present things, but also with all the desirable and precious comfort of the good things to follow. Among these numerous goods, there was only one that was truly good, and among the things that seize the spirits of mortals and make them run enflamed for nothing, there is but a single blessed thing, namely the holy fear of the Lord. That alone possessed his holy mind, and with such power that he used to invoke the living God in the midst of tribulations, setting against his damnable passion of desire with renunciation and the perfect contempt for the world; so that he, who owed no possession on this earth beside himself, also knew to desire nothing on this earth which is not God, keeping before his eyes the recollection of glorious eternity, which is the life of a wise man, and always turning over in his mind the endlessly lasting night of torment and the bliss of the future kingdom, created by that which leads the way to the heavens, namely golden discretion and contemplation of all virtues.

All that summer, until the noble feast of All Saints, the two hermits sat with steadfast mind in prayer and fasting, hoping, in the words of the apostle: *till ye be endued with power from on high*.¹ And there was such concord between those holy brethren that whatever one of them wanted, the other wanted even against his will, be it in their cell, with deeds, with clothing, with their living, or in prayer; and if one of them wanted things to be in a certain way, the other took care not to diverge from it in the least, all for the love of brotherhood and the danger of arbitrariness. They

te tam in prosperis nihil nisi Deum diligere scientes tam mores quam uitam componunt, quam orationibus quibus mundam animam ornant, sicut scriptum est: *Erat omnibus cor unum et anima una*,¹ et secundum psalmistam: *Ecce quam bonum et quam iocundum habitare fratres in unum*.²

Ubi ergo frustra expectatus, ad Romam, et post me missus frater ad destinatum diem non uenit, sancti fratres Benedictus et Iohannes, qui nil amant huius seculi, pro salute animę iterum turbantur, secundum illud: *Corpus quod corrumpitur, aggrauat animam et deprimit terrena habitatio sensum multa cogitantem*.³ Et propter nimium amorem ad saluam felicitatem cęlestis Imperatoris, non pensantes humanarum rerum incertum exitum increpant moras karę legationis iam duplo dampno duorum fratrum, mei et alterius post me missi, quos nesciunt si in hac carne umquam uidere debent, quod et accidit. Accusant peccatum suum pro causa damni missi fratris, inuocant diuinam misericordiam pro remeatione sui et mei, scientes loqui: *Quoniam tu es patientia mea*,⁴ Deus meus, misericordia mea. Laborantes itaque amaro tedio, serui Christi hec inter se laudabili querimonia conferre ceperunt: Si enim homines laborant ob pereuntium rerum commoda, cur nos libentissime non laboramus pro adipiscenda rerum cęlestium ueritate? Hec querela, hec collatio sacra in uexatione spiritus illorum numquam remissionem fecit, quociens se castis corporibus uidere, quociens ad loquendum conuenere, qui sinceris affectibus animorum semper simul fuere, quare ego prior non uenissem, ut eis promissum habui, nec post me missus cum diu optata licentia ueniret.

Quantum tempus, inquit, huius rei gratia in uanum consumsimus, Sclauonicę linguę idioma superfluo sudore paruimus, ut

¹ Cf. Acts 4: 32: *multitudinis autem credentium erat cor et anima una*.

² Ps. 132: 1.

³ Wisd. 9: 15 (in the Septuagint).

⁴ Ps. 70: 5.

were of one mind in good fortune, and joined in the knowledge that nothing else was to be desired but to love God, and adjusting their ways in life as well as in prayer, with which they furnished their pure souls; as it is written: And they all had *but one heart and one soul*¹; and according to the psalmist: *Behold how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell in unity!*²

But when the brother, who had been sent to Rome to look for me, and whom they were awaiting in vain, did not come on the appointed day, the holy brethren Benedict and John, who loved nothing of this world, began to be troubled again about the salvation of their souls, according to the word: *For the corruptible body presseth down the soul, and the earthy tabernacle weigheth down the mind that museth upon many things.*³ And because of their exceeding love for the secure bliss of the heavenly Emperor, they did not think of the uncertain outcome of human affairs, but bemoaned loudly the delay of the precious legation and the double loss of the two brethren, myself and the one sent after me, since they did not know whether they should ever see us again in this flesh; which was indeed the case. They blamed their sins as the reason for the loss of the brother they had sent and called upon the divine mercy for his return and mine, knowing that the saying goes: *For thou art my patience,*⁴ my Lord, my mercy. Thus laboring in bitter weariness, the servants of Christ began to converse with each other in this praiseworthy complaint: "If human beings toil for the benefit of transitory things, why should we not strive most gladly in order to acquire the truth of heavenly things?" This lament, these sacred conversations never subsided in their vexed spirits, but came up whenever they saw each other in their chaste bodies, whenever they came together to talk, since they were always of one mind in the unfeigned affection of their spirits: namely, why had I not come earlier, as I had promised them, and why the one whom they had sent after me did not return with the long-desired license.

"How much time," they said, "have we lost for nothing because of this! In vain have we sweated to learn the Slavonic language in order

incognitis paganis melior pateat ingressus ad salutem; parcentes rasorio, dimissę barbę misericordiam nobis fecimus, qui totum caput radere parati sumus. Cum manente bona intentione nil noceat uestis mutata, indumenta similia ad ritum gentilium indifferenter sumere statuimus, credentes in pagano populo, dum socium esse credit quem discordare a suo ritu non uidet, sic locum predicationis, sic rationale martyrium nobis patere, nec interesse qua occasione quis ad bonum deducatur et ad salutaria dirigatur. Ecce quam nihil proficimus, quia apostolici uerbi sacra licentia, cuius arbitrio tota pendet harum rerum cogitatio, non dignatur ad nos peccatores uenire. Vere *quia non in finem obliuio erit pauperis, paciencia pauperum non peribit in finem*.¹

Erant autem sub magisterio alii duo carnales fratres, unus nomine Ysaac, alter Matheus, in heremo sedentes, et qua pulchra similitudine nobilium patrum purpurea proles prodiit de Latina terra, de Sclauonica dualitas surrexit; horum duorum fratrum sorores in monasterio inter numerum uirginum Deo militarunt. Ipsi uero, cum essent fratres secundum carnem, meliores fratres secundum spiritum esse ceperunt.

Interea impii quidam latrones decem libras, quas dantem seniore Bolizlaum dedisse nouerunt, auferre sacrilego consilio spirauere, ut in densis tenebris, dum nox amica sceleris occultum facinus adiuuaret, omnes Dei seruos in illa silua occiderent et pecuniam, quam apud illos inueniri stulte cogitarunt, inter se cum licentia diuiderent. Hoc peruersis latronibus peruerse cogitantibus, accidit poscente ratione festi diei, ut sancta uigilia largidantis et boni Martyni ritu christiano per orbem terrarum memoriale Dei nocturnas cantare, et salutare Dei missam celebrare, illi sancti monachi, amatores uidelicet ueri et inconcussi boni, confluxissent. Hoc ipso uespere—sicut seruiens ille testimonium fert, qui pro eorum seruicio illa uespere in uilla ambulauit—tantum tedii, tantum memoris tunc in ipsa uespere de supradictis causis habuere, quantum

¹ Ps. 9: 19.

to render the entry to salvation more manifest to some unknown pagans; refraining from shaving, we have put ourselves in a pitiful state by letting our beards grow, though ready to shave our whole heads. Since change of dress does no harm as long as the good intention is there, we have decided to adopt clothes like theirs, as is the non-Christian custom, believing that the pagan people, thinking that the one who is not in variance with their customs is their friend, would grant us either the opportunity of preaching or proper martyrdom, and that it made no difference under what circumstances one is led to the good or directed towards salvation. But see, we have profited nothing, since we have not merited that the holy license granted by the pope, on whose will all thoughts of such things depend, should come to us sinners. Truly, *the poor man shall not be forgotten to the end: the patience of the poor shall not perish for ever.*¹

And there were also under their supervision two who were brothers in flesh, one by the name of Isaac, the other Matthew, who were staying at the hermitage; and as a beautiful equivalent to the noble fathers, the two crimson descendants of the Latin land, this pair arose from the land of the Slavs; and their sisters were serving in the monastery amongst the virgins of God. These two, who were brothers in flesh, began to be even better brothers according to the spirit.

In the meantime, some wicked robbers conspired in sacrilegious counsel to steal the ten pounds, since they knew that lord Bolesław had given them to the hermits; they planned to wait for thick darkness, when night, the friend of crime, would help to keep the misdeed secret, and then murder all the servants of God in that forest and at their will divide the treasure, which they stupidly thought they would find in the hermitage, among the hermits. As the wicked robbers wickedly planned this, it chanced that those holy monks, who were lovers of the true and unshaken good, flocked together for the holy vigil of the magnanimous and good Martin, to sing the nocturne which is the memorial of God, and to celebrate the mass, which is the salvation of God, as his feast day required and in accordance with the Christian rite throughout the

non amplius umquam. Canunt antiquum elegos solita et superflua querela: Frustra, sua derelicta, sub alio sole alienam terram intrasse, cum multo sudore ignotam linguam parasse, quibus ut intrarent cum Christi armis conturbare profundum paganismum, nulla uestigia uenientium fratrum, nulla signa apostolicę obedientię uenire dignarentur, iuxta hoc: *Numquid obliuiscetur misereri Deus, aut continebit in ira sua misericordias suas?*¹

/Gerentes salutarem tristiciam et corde insitum dolorem, non eo quod molles et desides nil sicut nos miseri utilis laboris fecerint, sed quod non tantum quantum accintis et perfectis uiris conuenit, in spiritualium lucrorum iocundo studio ad uoluntatem certare suffecerint, secundum illud: *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo, et angelis et hominibus*,² ut delectaret uidere legitimum cursum bonorum cursorum currentium. Quare locum non haberent predicando suscitare ad uitam christianitatis mortuos paganos, putantes tanto plus misericordię inuenire in conspectu Christi, quanto plus propter eius amorem inuentarum animarum ei aduexissent; sub qua munda occasione, cuius donum est omne bonum, si calicem salutaris dignatio Dei offerret, libenter sumentes, non tam peccatum hominum quam lucrum uolentes animarum, ardentem uolebant, tanto acceptiores Christo Regi esse cupientes, quanto pro eius amore nullo parcant labori./^{a,3}

Sed o altitudo diuiciarum sapientię et scientię et misericordię Dei!⁴ Illi nescientes quod futurum erat, propter tardum nuncium pusillanimitate defecerunt et pre angustia^b spiritus gemebant,

^a Gerentes salutarem – parcant labori *om. Karw.*

^b angusta *Karw.*

¹ Ps. 76: 10.

² 1 Cor. 4: 9.

³ This segment is repeated with few alterations in chapter [XXXII], while here in the codex it was marked with pale lines. It is difficult to ascertain who intervened in the original text or when, and while Karwasińska opted for juxtaposing the two passages in chapter [XXXII] as two redactions, we have decided to reproduce the text as it is given in the codex.

world. That very evening at vespers—as the servant who walked that evening to the village in their service has testified—the brethren were oppressed more than ever before by weariness and grief because of the abovementioned reasons. They sang the old elegy in their customary and oft repeated lament: that they had in vain abandoned their own land and come to a foreign region and different sunshine, that they had learned the unknown language with much labor, and now there was no trace of the brethren arriving, and that they were not granted any sign of apostolic will in order to enter with Christ's weapons and overthrow the profound paganism, according to the words: *Or will God forget to show mercy? Will he in his anger shut up his mercies?*¹

/And they bore the sadness of salvation and the heartfelt pain, not because they were soft and idle, and did no useful work like we wretches, but because they had not managed to combat at their will in the joyful struggle for spiritual gain as much as it would have been appropriate for prepared and accomplished warriors, according to that: *we are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men,*² for it would have given joy to see the legitimate progress of those good runners running a good course; and because they had no chance to resuscitate the dead pagans by preaching to the life of Christianity. And they were convinced that they would have found the more mercy in the sight of Christ, the more souls discovered for his love they had brought to him. If God, whose gift is all that is good, had deigned to offer the chalice of salvation in such a pure cause, they would have accepted it gladly, since they ardently longed for the gain of souls rather than for human sins, wishing to be the more pleasing to Christ the king as they shunned no effort for his love./³

But ah, how deep are the riches of God's wisdom and knowledge and mercy!⁴ Not knowing what was ahead of them, they lan-

⁴ Cf. Rom. 11: 33: *o altitudo divitiarum sapientiae et scientiae Dei quam inconprehensibilia sunt iudicia eius et investigabiles viae eius!*

quibus etiamsi tunc acquisita apostolica licentia adesset, necdum tamen felix martyrium tam prope foret, cuius inestimabili ardore cor eorum ardebat; sed bonus Deus eis nescientibus ipse parauit, qui ex hominum malis multa bona facit et desiderium animę eorum ut tribuat, quemadmodum pollicitus est petentibus in nomine suo, numquam mentitur sanctis suis, secundum illud: *Si moram fecerit, expecta eum, quia ueniens ueniet et non tardabit!*¹ et iterum: Numquid mater potest obliuisci, *ut non misereatur filio uteri sui? Et si illa oblita fuerit, ego tamen non obliuiscar tui.*² Et rursum: Modicum *dereliqui te, et in miserationibus multis congregabo te,*³ dicit Dominus Deus, *spes sanctorum et turris fortitudinis eorum,*⁴ qui fecit ualde bona, optimus in omnibus operibus, maxime pulcher, rubicundus,⁵ *mirabilis Deus in sanctis suis.*⁶

Ergo intempesta nocte quiescentibus illis, cum altum fessa membra carperent soporem,⁷ uenerunt impii anhela malicia et cassa nequicia, quibus ad nouum facinus cor salit, iecur hiat, labia tremunt, nares flant, precordia sanguinem trahunt, ora colorem^a mutant, pedes festinant et dentes sonant, uox repressa silet, stulta ira ardet, tenens arma manus sudat, rapax inuenti auaricia ridet. Aderant facili bello canes ad sanguinem, lupi ad predam, uolentes nocere, coacti prodesse, frustra querentes^b sibi bonum, in conspectu Dei magnum malum fecerunt; uenerunt nocentes ut fur, nocte, corporibus innocentum sine causa claudere diem uitę. Et quidem pecuniam pro magna uia agenda Benedictus accepit, sed mox ut impeditum iter uidit, qui numquam in animo suo reliquit auari spem nummi, absque retractatione principi reddere procurauit. Mali autem chri-

^a calorem *c.*

^b quarentes *Karw.*

¹ Hab. 2: 3: *si moram fecerit expecta illum quia ueniens ueniet et non tardabit.*

² Cf. Isa. 49: 15: *numquid obliuisci potest mulier infantem suum ut non misereatur filio uteri sui et si illa oblita fuerit ego tamen non obliuiscar tui.*

³ Cf. Isa. 54: 7: *ad punctum in modico dereliqui te et in miserationibus magnis congregabo te.*

⁴ Cf. Ps. 60: 4: *quia factus es spes mea turris fortitudinis a facie inimici.*

⁵ Cf. Song of Sol. 5: 10: *dilectus meus candidus et rubicundus.*

guished in faintheartedness regarding the delayed messenger and groaned with the heaviness of spirit, although, even if they had acquired the apostolic license, still the blissful martyrdom, which their heart was burning for with inestimable ardor, would not have been closer; but good God, who out of bad deeds of men creates many good things and never lies to his saints, prepared everything without their knowledge in order to grant them the desire of their soul, just as he had promised to those that would ask in his name, according to the words: *If he make any delay, wait for him: for he shall surely come, and he shall not be slack;*¹ and again: Can a mother forget, *so as not to have pity on the son of her womb? And if she should forget, yet will not I forget thee.*² And again: *For a small moment have I forsaken thee; but with great mercies will I gather thee,*³ says the Lord God, *the hope of the saints and the tower of their strength,*⁴ who does very good things, who is the best in all doings, the most beautiful, ruddy,⁵ *wondrous God in his saints.*⁶

Thus, in the dead of the night, as they were resting and their weary limbs had fallen into deep sleep,⁷ the villains came in panting malice and futile vileness; their hearts were leaping at the unprecedented misdeed, their liver was craving, lips were trembling, nostrils flaring, entrails drawing blood, mouths changing color, feet hurrying, teeth grinding, subdued voices hushing, senseless rage burning, the hand holding weapons sweating, and their avarice laughing, greedy for gain. To this easy war they came like dogs drawn to blood or wolves to their prey; wishing to be harmful, but compelled to be useful: while they sought good for themselves, in vain they did a great evil in the face of God; they came in order to harm, like a robber in the night, in order to close the day of life to the bodies of the innocent without a cause. For indeed Benedict had received money in order to undertake his long journey; but he took care to return it to the ruler without loss as soon as he saw that his way was impeded, since he never allowed hope for that av-

⁶ Ps. 67: 36.

⁷ Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* IV, 522: *nox erat et placidum carpebant fessa soporem corpora.*

stiani dum, de qua dicitur: *Hec est oculus eorum in uniuersa terra*,¹ pecuniam inuenire credunt; quod iam pagani pro religione tarde solent iustos libenter occidere, facili mente nec timent nec tardant, contra illud: *Nolite sperare in iniquitate, et diuicię si adfluant, nolite cor adponere*.² Unus autem ex profana multitudine, que ad miserum facinus preciosę mortis expirauit, quasi dux itineris et maiorem partem pecunię sperans, qui eos bene cognouit et alia hora in eorum seruicio ministrare iussus fuit, ante eos occultato gladio armatus intrauit. Prius uero quam intraret, ne ad nouum scelus sacrilegum cor expauesceret, benedicente satana, duos calices ebibit, et portans in sinistra candelam et hastam in dextra, repente ante euigilantes sanctos terribili facie funestus carnifex stetit.

Eleuauerunt se usque ad medium corpus sedentes parum suaui lecto fratres, et quia necessitas frangit legem et frangere silentium maior causa hospitum licentiam donat, sicut semper in ore et corde illorum Christus erat: Ceperunt, inquit ipse carnifex, qui percussit eos, postea penitens, nescio quid inter se ad aurem susurrare—quod utique persolueno capitulo monachorum conueniens uersus erat: *Preciosa est in conspectu Domini mors sanctorum eius*,³ quoniam illorum preciosa mors instabat, et pro instanti periculo nostra existimatione *Confiteor Deo* esse potuit.—Ast ego, inquit carnifex penitendo hec narrans, mortua mente stupefactus sto, uolo occidere et expauesco nefas. Postquam quod uoluere susurratum habuere, Iohannes, filius patientię, qui plus bene sciens linguam amborum uoce superuenientibus responsa dare solebat, cito per martyrium sanctificandus, loqui cepit, dicens: Amice, ad quod uenisti, et quid uult noui armatus populus iste? Attonitus percussor, qui nunc bona male fecisse ualde penitet, respondit: Dominus terre Bolizlao misit nos sine misericordia ligare uos. Subridens illa

¹ Zec 5: 6.

² Ps. 61: 11.

³ Ps. 115: 15. The Benedictine Rule proscribes complete silence until the dispensation of the *Officium Capituli*, which begins, after the reading of the Martyrology, with the cited verse. Cf. *Benedictine Rule*, 42.

aricious money in his soul. But those perverse Christians believed that they would find money, and so they neither feared nor hesitated to kill the righteous, which even the pagans shun to do because of their sense of right, and they did it of their free will and with an easy mind, of which it is said: *This is their eye in all the earth*,¹ contrary to what is said: *Trust not in iniquity, and if riches abound, set not your heart upon them*.² And one of that profane bunch which conspired to commit the wretched misdeed of precious death, who was some sort of a leader and expected the larger part of the treasure, knew the brethren well because he had at some time been ordered to work in their service; he entered before the others, armed, but with the sword concealed. And before he entered, he drank two chalices with Satan's blessing lest his heart should quail at the unprecedented and sacrilegious crime and, carrying a candle in his left hand and a spear in his right, suddenly appeared before the awaking saints, a dark butcher with a terrible face.

The brethren half raised themselves and sat up on their hard beds and, since necessity breaks the law and guests are an important reason that permits the breaking of the silence, as Christ was always on their lips and in their hearts, "they began," said the butcher himself, who slew them and later repented, "to murmur something into each other's ears, I know not what." It must have been the appropriate verse used in dismissing the monastic chapter: *Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints*,³ because their precious death was at hand; and in the moment of peril it may have been, in my estimation, the *Confiteor Deo*. "There I stood," said the butcher, telling it in repentance, "stupefied to numbness; I wanted to kill, but I shrank from the wicked deed." After the murmuring was over, John, the son of patience, who knew the language better and used to answer for both sides to visitors, and who was quickly going to be sanctified through martyrdom, began to speak, saying: "My friend, why have you come and what is the new thing that this armed band wants?" The slayer, astonished and repenting very much for doing good in an evil manner, answered: "The lord of this land, Bolesław, has sent us to tie you up without mercy." The

sancta facies dixit: Numquam senior bonus, qui propter Deum multum nos amat, talia precepit. Quid frustra mentiris, fili? Carnifex respondit: Verum occidere uos uolumus. Ecce causa pro qua uenimus. Et sanctus Iohannes ait: Deus uos adiuuet et nos. Ad illud uerbum pallidus parricida statim euaginauit gladium crudelem et percussit duobus uulneribus illud sanctum corpus, quod in uita, quamuis non sit gloriosum, cecantibus uariolis unum oculum gesserat, tertium uulnus. Consequenter et superiore parte preciosam margaritam, felicem Benedictum, dum ad alios festinat, uno magno ictu percussit in media fronte, ita ut altus cruor angulares parietes leto flumine purpuraret et, ut est hodie uidendum, circumquaque saliendo, pulchris maculis domum coloraret. Non autem frustra erat, quod proximi ad mortem de qua scriptum est: *Moriatur anima mea morte iustorum*,¹ plus solito tristitiam habebant, si Redemptio nostra, ipsa salus, sancta misericordia, Deus propinquans ad passionem, quam inestimabili caritate in salutem hominum pro perditis inclite celebrauit, suis dilectis sequacibus tedere et mestum se esse fateretur. Verbum in principio,² in cuius manu est anima omnis uiuentis, cum eum uicit clementia, ut ferret nostra crimina:³

tristis est, inquit, *anima mea usque ad mortem*.⁴ Et ut certa amittantur, qui nouo martyrio misera tempora beaut, sanctus Israelita, uere bonus Adalbertus, cum audire et occidere dedignati Pruzi eum a finibus expellerent suis, pro infortunio illo cepit infinita tristitia laborare et quare, ne eos lucrari posset, imprudenter ueniret, se ipsum increpare. Testimonio illorum qui secum fuere, numquam mestos animos deiecit, donec post tergum uenientes non sponte sua maliciam iubente Deo uerterunt ei in optimam partem. Sic et

¹ Num. 23: 10.

² Cf. John 1: 1: *in principio erat uerbum*.

³ Cf. *In Ascensione Domini Hymnus*: *Qua victus es clementia, ut nostra ferres crimina?* (*Brev. Rom. Pars uernalis*).

holy face said with a smile: "Never did our good lord, who loves us much because of God, order a thing like that. Why do you lie needlessly, my son?" The butcher responded: "In fact, we want to murder you. There, that is the reason for which we came." And the saintly John said: "God help you and us, too!" At these words, the pale parricide immediately drew his cruel sword and slew with two wounds that saintly body, which had in its lifetime born a third wound, though not that glorious, since the blinding smallpox had left it with only one eye. After that, he slew in the upper part, with one big blow in the midst of the forehead, that precious pearl, blissful Benedict, as he hastened towards the others, so that a high stream of blood reddened the walls of the corner and, as can be still seen today, colored the house all over in a gush, creating beautiful stains. And it was not without a cause that, close to death, of which it is written: *Let my soul die the death of the just*,¹ they were more sad than usually, since our Redemption, our God approaching his passion, which he illustriously celebrated with an inestimable love for the salvation of lost men, said to his beloved disciples that he was weary and sorrowful. He who was the Word in the beginning,² who holds in his hands the souls of all living beings was overcome by clemency to bear our crimes, saying:³

*My soul is sorrowful even unto death.*⁴ But let us lay aside these well-known things and speak about the one who has blessed these pitiful times with his recent martyrdom, the holy Israelite and truly good Adalbert: when the Prussians, who refused both to listen and to kill him, expelled him from their territory, he began to suffer with infinite sadness because of that misfortune and to rebuke himself for having imprudently come there and not being able to win them over. According to the testimonies of his companions, he did not abandon his sorrowful disposition until the Prussians came after him, not of their own free will, but at an order of God, and directed their malice to his best. Thus it was also now, as the

⁴ Matt. 26: 38; Mk 14: 34.

nunc, quorum paulo ante ultra mensuram tristitia excreuit, dum sanctus amator fidelis hominum Deus, habundantia pietatis dare solet supra quod petimus aut intelligimus, foris querendum, domi dedit, desiderio animę eorum optatum martyrium, quod cum precipitatione incaute inuenire sicuti est periculo plenum, ita cum orationibus querere est sanctum et salutare.

Unus autem Ysaac nomine, ex duobus qui de Sclauonica terra et lingua in sacra professione beatos magistros Benedictum et Johannem sectati sunt, ut erat ordine tercius, homo corpore robusto, non suauius expergefactus: Adiuua Deus, adiuua Deus! uoce super uocem ingeminat nobilem clamorem, secundum hoc: *Turris fortissima nomen Domini, ad ipsum fugiet iustus et saluabitur.*¹ Et cum quasi ad orationem surgere uellet, in mediis cruribus iratum ensem, et sicut scriptum est: *Ubi amor ibi oculus, ubi dolor ibi manus,*² cum quasi pellem pro pelle manus eleuaret,³ non parcentem alteram plagam in religiosis manibus accepit. Ipse uero Ysaac desiderabilem finem expectatę mortis, iubente Christo, qui est salus omnium in se credentium, domum aduenisse admirans, quia deponit per martyrium, quod homo portat supercrescentium peccatorum magnum pondus, testatur leticiam cordis huiuscemodi uerbis: Bene, inquit, nobis qui tam bonam noctem et sic felicem horam, quam numquam pro nostris meritis meruimus, sola misericordia Saluatoris inuenimus, iuxta illud: *Exultabit cor meum in salutari tuo, cantabo^a Domino, qui bona tribuit mihi.*⁴ Et rursum dixit: Benedicat uobis Dominus, quia bene nobis facitis, secundum illud: Benedicite prosequentes uos, et ignoscite illis,⁵ *non enim sciunt quid faciunt.*⁶ Hoc cum dixisset Ysaac, tercio iugulatus expi-

^a contabo Karw.

¹ Cf. Prov. 18: 10: *turris fortissima nomen Domini ad ipsum currit iustus et exaltabitur.*

² A classical Latin proverb, cf. W. Walther, *Proverbia sententiaque latinitatis medii aevi*, 5, U. 36.

³ Job 2: 4.

⁴ Ps. 12: 6.

hermits' sadness grew beyond measure and then God, that holy and faithful lover of men, who often gives in abundance of piety more than we ask for or understand, gave them martyrdom, desired by the longing of their souls, at home, which was to be sought outside; that martyrdom, which is full of peril when one encounters it unaware and hurls headlong into it, but is holy and salutary when sought in prayers.

And one of the two that were from the land and the language of the Slavs, and attended the blessed masters Benedict and John in their holy profession, who bore the name of Isaac and was the third one in line, a man of robust body, having been rudely awoken, cried these exalted words: "God help us, God help us!" crying out again and again, according to the words: *The name of the Lord is a strong tower: the just runneth into it, and shall be saved.*¹ And as he wanted to rise, as if for prayer, he received the raging sword across his legs, as it is written: *Where love is, there is the eye, where pain is, there is the hand,*² and as he raised his hand as if it were skin against skin,³ he received another, unforgiving wound from the godless hands. And thus Isaac, marveling that the desirable end of long awaited death had found him at home, at the order of Christ, who is the salvation of all who believe in him, and deposing in martyrdom all that men carry, namely the great burden of the overgrowth of sins, asserted the joy of his heart with the following words: "Good it is for us," he said, "that we have, through Savior's mercy alone, encountered this good night and this blissful hour, which we have never deserved with our merits," according to the converse: *My heart shall rejoice in thy salvation; I will sing to the Lord, who giveth me good things.*⁴ And further he said: "May God bless you, for you do us good," according to that: Bless them that persecute you and forgive them,⁵ *for they know not what they do.*⁶ As Isaac said that, he expired, the third to be slain. And the villains, when they heard

⁵ Cf. Rom. 12: 14: *benedicite persequentibus benedicite et nolite maledicere.*

⁶ Luke 23: 34.

rauit. Inpii autem, cum illos se benedicere audirent, quibus male facere hoc solo animo uenerunt, tanta bonitate, benigna illa et tranquilla patientia confusi, more suo post tempus tedere et penitere ceperunt, ita ut dicerent: Ve nobis! quid operis egimus, qui tales homines, qui gaudent occidi et inusitato more hominum interfectorem suum benedicunt, occidere uenimus. Sed iam aliter nequimus nunc agere, nisi ut omnes occidamus; ne palam fiant scelera nostra et digna pena inueniat nos auctores, perficiendum est quod cepimus. Nam quod proprium miserie hominis, quia expectans ab alto Deus; non enim in conspectu eius tantummodo transitoriam corporum uindictam expauescebant, animarum uero sequentem intolerabilem penam nec parum pensabant, de qua dicitur: *Horrendum est incidere in manus Dei omnipotentis*.¹ Porro Matheus, nouitate rei percussus, frustra se foras in fugam dedit; qui uenit iuxta ecclesiam confossus lanceis, ubi quasi ad orationem iacet prostratus toto corpore ad terram. Cristinus autem, coqus illorum, cuius frater illa uespera in uillam ambulauit, secundum illud: *Unus assumetur et unus relinquetur*,² defendens se cum ligno, quos occisos nescit, fratres frustra in adiutorium uocat, quia corpore mortui non audiebant. Qui supradictus Christinus, sicut interfectorum seruicio amabilis et grata persona inhesit, super quatuor occisos sanctos impio uulnere quintus interfectus accreuit, magno illius beneficio, de cuius quinto uulnere in latere salutis, per que remittuntur peccata hominibus, exiuit sanguis et aqua; qui uult dare bonus nouissimo sicut et primo,³ per cuius misericordiam unusquisque saluatur, non propter proprium meritum. De hoc uero, quod cogitauerunt inuenire pecuniam, ad maiorem tristitiam nil inuenientes, diuiserunt inter se ferro parati, scisso missatico paramento, quod sancti uiri cum optimis libris, quorum nil tetigerunt,

¹ Heb 10: 31: *horrendum est incidere in manus Dei viventis*.

² Matt. 24: 40; Cf. Luke 17: 34: *unus adsumetur et alter relinquetur*.

³ Cf. Matt. 20: 14: *volo autem et huic nouissimo dare sicut et tibi*.

that they were being blessed by those to whom they came with one sole intention, namely to harm them, were perplexed by such goodness, such benevolent and calm patience, so in their way they began after a while to be weary and repentant, and they said: "Woe to us! What have we done by coming to kill such men, who rejoice in being killed and bless their murderer in a way unc customary for men! But now we can do nothing else, we must kill them all; otherwise our crimes will be revealed and the due punishment will reach us, the perpetrators; what we have begun must be completed." For that is typical of the wretched state of man, as God watches from above; in His eyes they feared only bodily retribution, that is but transitory, and gave very little thought to the unbearable punishment of souls that awaited them, of which it is said: *It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the almighty God.*¹ Then Matthew, dazed by the new turn of events, vainly rushed outside in flight; but before he reached the church, he was pierced by the lances and prostrated himself, laying his entire body upon the earth, as if prostrated in prayer. And Cristinus, their cook, whose brother had walked that evening to the village, according to that: *One shall be taken, and one shall be left,*² tried to defend himself with a piece of wood and called the brethren in vain to help him, not knowing that they were killed and their bodies, dead, could not hear him. This Cristinus, just as he had adhered to the service of the murdered brethren in a friendly and agreeable way, was slaughtered as the fifth one after the four murdered saints through the great benefit of our Savior, from whose fifth wound in the side there came out the saving blood and water, through which men's sins are remitted; and God wanted in his goodness to give the same to the last as to the first;³ and everyone is saved through his mercy, not because of their own merit. And as for the fact that the robbers thought they would find a treasure, to their greatest distress they did not find anything; so they cut with the sword and divided between them the Mass vestment, which the saintly men had brought with them from the Latin land together with excellent books, the gift of the emperor, which they did not even touch; they took off the mantle from the altar, in which relics were deposited and, wrapping all in a waxed cloth,

de Latina terra dono imperatoris secum adduxerunt; pallium de altari tulerunt, in quo erant reliquię, et totum cereo panno inuolutum iuxta parietes ecclesię incensum igne apponunt, ut tota ecclesia ardente, omnes mansiunculę in paruo claustro cum sacris corporibus ad cinerem comburerentur, et non dicatur: Latrones aut uiri sanguinum, sed: Casu accidente ipsi sibi hoc fecere. At aliter Deus, aliter homo cogitat. Ecclesia non arsit, corpora sanctorum in pace sepulta sunt et auctores mali iubente Deo latere non possunt, frustra neminem uiuum relinquentes. Sera tandem penitentia ducti, ceperunt fugere maiore impetu quam uenere; qui ad cumulum damnationis malę conscientię, ex hora qua occisis sanctis foras egressi sunt, dulcem melodiam et uocem cantantium intus sonantem audierunt. Cui rei uerum et forte testimonium reddunt, nam in illo monasterio, que possunt, necessaria libenter seruire parati sunt. Ita non bene preliato duello, impii fugam fecerunt, et martyrum animę, quorum egregia uita insperata salute bonum finem fecit, innocentes et recti ęterno et uero Deo Ihesu Christo presentati erant. Omnes autem aliter quam ad somnum iacerent, in illa occisione mutati sunt, quamuis excepto puero Christino nemo reluctari operam dedit, sed de morte preciosa gaudium erat singulis in Spiritu Sancto. Matheus, maliciam fugiens, iuxta ecclesiam iacuit, Christinus innocentiam defendens, in medio foro iacebat, Ysaac, ad nouam causam surgens et tercio uno ense prostratus in longum, ueniam petebat, Iohannes de lecto in terram procumbens, imitatur modum super genua orantis. Solus Benedictus, diuę cohortis primicerius, sicut dormiens iacebat, gloriose moriens spiritum Domino reddidit; ita ut peracto scelere, cum uenirent ipsi occisores uidere, mirantes, si adhuc uiuerent, qui in Dei carminibus indesinenter uoces deintus sonare audiebant, sanctus ille Benedictus cucullam capiti imposuisset, et mutato latere ad parietem conuerteret, qui cum illis omnibus mortuus erat. Unus autem carnificum, qui aperto hostio intus prosiliuit, timens infectum facinus et illis uiuentibus euenire periculum prodicionis, nam et gelida membra manu palps, et uagis oculis pallida ora inspiciens, numquam nec tenuem auram de flante spiritu inuenit; nimirum, quia in cuius uirtute magnus sanctus Ariopagita Dionisius ca-

set it on fire next to the church walls, so that, when the church caught fire, all the cells in the small cloister should burn down to ashes along with the holy bodies and people would not say: "It was robbers or bloodthirsty men," but "They did it to themselves by accident." But God thinks in one way, man in another. The church did not burn and the bodies of the saints were buried in peace, so that the evildoers, by the order of God, could not hide themselves, and it was in vain that nobody was left alive. Finally, led by belated remorse, they took flight with greater vehemence than that with which they had come; but as the pinnacle of the damnation of bad conscience, in the moment in which they came out, having murdered the saints, they heard a sweet melody and singing voices resounding from the inside. And of that they have given a true and firm testimony, for they are now ready and willing to serve in that monastery in all necessary things they can. So the villains fled without having fought the battle well; and the souls of the martyrs, whose excellent life had come to a good end with an unexpected salvation, were presented innocent and righteous to the eternal and true God Jesus Christ. And all of them were changed by this murder and lay differently than they would in sleep, although, except the boy Cristinus, none of them had sought to defend themselves, but each rejoiced in the Holy Spirit because of this precious death. Matthew, who had been fleeing malice, lay next to the church; Cristinus, who had been defending his innocence, lay in the middle of the courtyard; Isaac, who had risen to the new cause and was slain with a single blow of the sword as the third in the row, was asking for grace prostrated with his whole body; John, who had leaped to the ground from his bed, was kneeling in a position imitating one that prays. Only Benedict, the leader of the divine division, lay there as if sleeping, having returned his spirit to the Lord at his glorious death; so when the crime was done and the murderers returned to see whether the hermits were still alive, marveling since they were hearing voices from the inside incessantly singing songs of God, they saw that saint Benedict had put his hood on his head and changed the side, turning towards the wall, although he was dead like all the others. One of the butchers opened the door

nentibus angelorum melodiis amputatum caput propriis manibus portauit,¹ in eius misericordia pusillus iste sanctus Benedictus post mortem mutare latus et, ne a regula detectum caput discreparet, cucullam roseo capiti ponere potuit.

Surgente purpureo die super egros mortales,² usque ad altam horam, qua clausam curtem uiderunt, nullus ex uenientibus uillanis adpropiare ausus est, donec admirantibus cunctis, quid intra fecissent, quorum nec unus temporis spacio egressus est, quidam, traiectis per spinosam sepem errantium oculorum spiculis, in medio curtis uidebat Christini cadauer iacens. Hic erat innocentum innocens minister; puer eorum necessitati gratanter seruire solebat, quem propter fidem et karitatem sanctorum fratrum clemens Deus ad plena gaudia simul coronari permisit. Nec mora, ad ingens spectaculum certatim festinant stupefacti uillani, nec tamen presumunt inlota manu et incesto corde tangere corpora sanctorum, nisi nunciantes ubique peccatum noctis in lucem producunt; et quia tandem tercio die hoc potuit episcopo terrę nunciari, clericorum et sanctimonialium utpute in rudi christianismo, ad sanctorum innocentum felices exequias satis conuenere, et unde silua sat dabat, preparatis ligneis sarcophagis, intus in ecclesia quantum bis [quatuor]³ duum hominum locus capere posset,³ iuxta preceptum episcopi grandem fossam fecerunt. Senex uero Vvngerus episcopus,⁴ diues de bona uoluntate, cum ad sanctum locum peruenisset, salutare hostias et officium orationis cum clericis superimpleuit, ad sanctorum corpora manibus et corde suplex intrauit.

^a quatuor *ut glossema seclusi*: quantum bis quatuor duum c., quantumvis quatuor diuorum *coni. Kętrziński*.

¹ Dionysius the Areopagite was a judge in Areopagus, converted to Christianity by the apostle Paul, as related in Acts 17, 34. He is traditionally confused with a bishop of Paris of the same name, who was martyred during the Decian persecutions and is believed to have walked around after his beheading, carrying his head and preaching.

² Cf. Vergil, *Aeneid*, II, 268: *tempus erat quo prima quies mortalibus aegris incipit*.

³ I have rejected both the reading of the manuscript and Kętrziński's conjecture (see the critical apparatus ad loc.); the solution adopted in the present translation considers *quatuor* a gloss of the original formula *bis duum* (see below the similar formulation *bis bina*).

and burst inside, fearing the crime was incomplete and the danger of betrayal arising if they remained alive, touched the ice cold limbs with his hands and inspected the pale faces with his roving eyes, but could not find a faintest trace of breath. Doubtlessly, with the same virtue with which the great saint Dionysus the Areopagite,¹ as angelic melodies were sung, carried his decapitated head in his own hands, so the humble saint Benedict was able by His mercy to change his side after his death and put the hood on his rosy head, lest his uncovered head should diverge from the Rule.

As the crimson day dawned upon the weary hearts of men,² the coming villagers saw the courtyard closed, but none of them dared to approach until the late hour, wondering instead what the brethren might be doing in there, since nobody was ever coming out, until one of them, who cast a glance of his roving eyes over the thorny hedge, saw Cristinus's corpse lying in the middle of the courtyard. There was the innocent servant of innocents; that boy used to serve their needs gladly and, because of his faith and love of the holy brethren, merciful God allowed him to be crowned at the same time and to be admitted to full joy. In no time the stupefied villagers eagerly hurried to this huge spectacle; still, they did not dare to touch the bodies of the saints with their unwashed hands and polluted hearts, but rather proclaimed it everywhere and brought to light the sin of the night; and only on the third day could the bishop of the land finally be informed, and a fair number of clerics and nuns (at least considering the primitive state of Christianity there) came together to the blessed funeral of the holy innocents; they prepared the coffins out of wood, which they found in abundance in the forest; and dug a large grave inside the church, as much as four men³ would need, according to the bishop's order. And the old bishop Unger,⁴ rich with goodwill, came to the holy place and performed the Holy Communion and the funerary service together with the clerics; and he entered to the bodies of the saints with suppliant hands and heart.

⁴ Bishop of Poznań (982–1012), a diocese officially created at the meeting of Gniezno in 1000 and under its jurisdiction. Cf. Thietmar, *Chronicon*, IV, 28 and VI, 43.

Et tunc, e quibus preciosa gemma, aureum sidus et dulce decus ceterorum, ille dux Benedictus, cuius cum Deo luctans feruor numquam dimisit, donec quos martyrio baptizauit, omnes manus^a Domini benedixit, secus principale angulum¹ in dextra parte introeuntibus domum auersus in latere ad parietem iacebat, in quam partem peracto martyrio felix mortuus cum magna delectione se uertebat. Cuius nobile caput meridiem, uenerabiles pedes aquilonem respexere, quarum parcium de diuerso uento in Canticis canticorum ita scriptum est: *Surge aquilo et ueni auster, perfla ortum meum et fluent aromata illius*;² hoc est: Recede, diabole, et ueni Sancte Spiritus, reple animam meam, ut appareant suaue olentes uirtutes eius. Ceteris autem cum eo occisis situm corporis casus aut oratio uariavit; et—quod super aurum optimum³—caput eius electum non solum rubeos parietes colorauit, sed etiam sancti uiri cucullum plenum sanguine inuenerunt, secundum illud: *Lauit in uino stolam suam et in sanguine pallium suum*.⁴ Porro episcopus, cum orationibus et antiphonis, ut oportet, in timore Dei sanctorum corpora usque ad locum sepulchri prosecutus est. Quorum bis bina in uno monumento secundum ordinem posita ea die sepulta sunt, qua Redemptio nostra Filius Dei in sepulchro requieuit, postquam passione sua perditum mundum redemit et sua morte mortem nostram salutare Dei occidit. Medio autem loco florem iuuentutis, nobilem Benedictum et pullum glorię, egregium Iohannem, dictante iusticia posuere, quibus alios duos in fine circa latera iungunt, quos sancti seruiicii nouos et albi martyrii dignos alumnos gratia Dei fecit, apte secundum illud: Virtutes medium locum tenent, discipulis autem omnis laus in fine canitur.⁵ Puerum uero

^a manus *coni.* Kętrziński: manu *c.*

¹ Following Karwasińska's edition, I have retained the manuscript reading *secus principale angulum*; for the use of *angulus* as a neuter, see Peter Stotz, *Handbuch zur lateinischen Sprache des Mittelalters* (Munich: C. H. Beck, 1998), vol. 4, 146.

² Cf. Song of Sol. 4: 16: *surge aquilo et ueni auster perfla hortum meum et fluant aromata illius*.

³ Cf. Prov. 22: 1: *Melius est nomen bonum quam diuitiae multae super argentum et aurum gratia bona*.

And there the precious gem, the golden star and the sweet ornament to the others, the leader Benedict, who never lost his fervor in his struggle on God's side until the Lord's hand blessed them all and they were baptized in martyrdom, was lying next to the principal corner,¹ to the right from the entrance, but turned onto his side towards the wall, on the same side on which he had turned in blissful death and with great joy after he had suffered martyrdom. His noble head was showing towards the south and his venerable feet to the north, about which directions of the wind the Song of Songs says the following: *Arise, O north wind, and come, O south wind, blow through my garden, and let the aromatic spices thereof flow*²; that is: "Step back, you devil, and come, O Holy Spirit, fill my soul and make its virtue emit sweet smells!" The position of the bodies of the others who had been murdered with him varied with respect to the way they fell in prayer; and—which is better than gold³—Benedict's elect head had not only colored the walls red, but also the hood of the holy man was found full of blood, according to that: *He has washed his robe in wine, and his garment in blood*.⁴ Then the bishop accompanied the bodies of the saints to the place of burial with prayers and antiphonies and in the fear of God, as should be done. They were buried all four in one monument, placed according to the right order, on the day on which our Redemption, the son of God, rested in his tomb after his passion had redeemed the lost world, and he, God's salvation, had slain our death by his death. In the middle, they placed noble Benedict, the flower of youth, and illustrious John, the fowl of glory, since justice imposed that, while the other two were added on the side, next to them, since the grace of God made them novices in the holy service and worthy of white martyrdom, fittingly according to the words: The virtues occupy the central place, while the praise of the disciples is sung at the end.⁵ But young Cristinus, the servant of the

⁴ Cf. Gen. 49: 11: *lavabit vino stolam suam et sanguine uvae pallium suum*.

⁵ Bruno combined here a quotation from Boethius, *Liber de duabus naturis et una persona in Christo*, and a classical Latin proverb.

Christinum, ministrum sanctorum, quia talem sanctitatem non habuit et cum ligno se defendere uoluit, foras in clauastro posuere, secundum illud: Non iungas bouem cum asino,¹ hoc est sapientem cum stulto. Quem supradictum Christinum non longe post de illo sepulchro educentes, ita ut sicut uiuus omnino nil fetoris emisisset, totum integrum inuenere. Tanta autem pluuiā in reuelatione eius corporis repente secuta est, ut extra solitum inundaret, et seculares, qui in clauastro laborabant, de labore fugerent; quem monachi suis manibus tractare digni, sicut nec uita, ita nec sepulchro separatum, intra ecclesiam suorum seniorum ordini apposuerunt, secundum: Non est distinctio, Iudei et Greci, seruus ac liber, omnes in Christo unum sumus.² Apertis autem tumultis sanctorum monachorum cum ministrum apponerent, post tantum tempus nullum corporibus cognatum fetorem sanctorum dulces carnes emisere, quem peccatorum putres carnes etiam prima die densa nebula ministrare solent.

[XIV]

Nec tacendum, extrema nocte quando fecerunt uigilias, cum duo pueri salubrem psalmodiam cecinissent, qui cum fratre medius iacet, sanctus Iohannes conuertit se in aliud latus. Alius puer pre timore exterritus, foras se in fugam dedit, alter uero, qui nunc in monachico habitu eiusdem ecclesie diaconus est, partem angelorum uidens, psalmos canendo perseuerauit; ita contigit, ut quod prior Benedictus in occisione egit, in aliud latus se uertendo in lecto, hoc Iohannes perageret in sepulchro.

Multa autem signa et celestia beneficia pro meritis sanctorum dat ibi larga diuinitas, quorum facta ibi congregatione hoc primum fuit.

¹ Cf. Deut. 22: 10: *non arabis in bove simul et asino*.

² This idea is expressed in several places in the New Testament, e.g. Rom. 10: 12; Gal. 3: 28; 1 Cor. 12: 13; Acts 10: 34.

saints, was placed outside in the cloister since he did not possess such sanctity and wanted to defend himself with a piece of wood, according to that: Thou shalt not harness an ox with an ass,¹ that is: "the wise one with the stupid." But soon afterwards, they took out the mentioned Cristinus from that tomb and found him completely incorrupt, as if he were alive, not emitting any bad smell. And the revelation of his body was followed by such sudden torrent of rain that there was an unusually great flooding and the seculars that were working in the cloister fled from their work; and the monks who were worthy of touching him with their own hands placed him inside the church, next to his elders, so that he might not be separated from them in the tomb any more than during the lifetime, according to the words: For there is no distinction of the Jew and the Greek, slave or free: all are one in Christ.² And when they opened the graves of the holy monks in order to place the servant inside, even though so much time had passed, their sweet flesh emitted none of the stench typical for dead bodies, which the rotten flesh of sinners usually gives off in thick fog even on the first day.

[XIV]

And one should not keep quiet about this: at the close of the night in which they kept vigils, as two boys performed the salutary psalmody, saintly John, who was lying in the middle with his brother, turned to the other side. One boy was terrified and ran out in flight, while another, who is now the deacon of the church and wears the monastic habit, seeing the hand of angels in it, kept on singing Psalms; and so it happened that, what Benedict had done earlier, in his moment of death, namely turning himself to the other side in his bed, John accomplished in the tomb.

The magnanimous Divinity grants there many signs and heavenly benefits for the merits of the saints, of which this was the first that occurred after the congregation was formed.

[XV]

Sabbato quodam, post factum mandatum, quod diuinam caritatem in memoriam reducere animabus monachorum solet,¹ in conspectu omnium fratrum, quam nemo hominum ibi posuit, clara luce candela ardere uisa est ad tumulum eorum. Quod et post diuerso tempore multociens uisum est, ut euidenter appareret, in qua luce ante faciem glorię Dei et gaudio cęlestium animę illorum clarescunt, qui uiuere in terra uiuentium oculis mortalium cum luce testantur. Et si forte parum adusitatum uidetur, quod de ardente candela factum est, adhuc referam aliud miraculum de lumine sanctorum, cuius rei prope tot testes sunt, quot iuxta stans uilla homines habet.

[XVI]

Cum illam uillam regis Saxonum exercitus magnus et ualidus ascenderet, et quin tota prouincia periclitaretur, nemo fere dubitaret, in medio noctis, qui longa luce per totam curtem aspexit, et integra hora manens stetit, uidetur super illam ecclesiam quasi circulus ingens et splendidus.

[XVII]

Similiter uolente anno, ab octauo die martyrii eorum, uisa similis res lato lumine super ipsam ecclesiam lucens in uacuo aere, ut ex priore signo eorum protectione protectam terram homines intelligerent, quam sine effectu cogitatę perdicionis illesam reliquit exercitus regis. Ex posteriore autem signo luminis testimonium eorum sanctitatis claresceret, quorum patrocina, si deuoto animo queran-

¹ Cf. *Benedictine Rule*, 35.

[XV]

One Saturday, after the fulfillment of the mandate that brings back the divine love to the memory of the monks' souls,¹ a candle was seen by all brethren, burning with bright light at their tomb, though no man had placed it there. And it was seen many times more, at various times, and it was obviously to show in what light their souls were shining before the face of God's glory and in what joy of heavenly things, because they testified with light to the eyes of mortals that the saints lived in the world of the living. And if perhaps this event with the burning candle may seem a little unusual to someone, I will relate another miracle about the light of the saints; to which almost all men can testify who live in the nearby village.

[XVI]

As the great army of the Saxon king descended upon that village and practically no man doubted that the whole province would be imperiled, in the middle of the night there appeared a great light throughout the courtyard and remained there standing for an entire hour in something like a huge and radiant circle above the church.

[XVII]

In the same way, as one year had passed from the eighth day of their martyrdom, a similar thing was seen, namely a broad light shining in empty air above the same church, in order that people might understand from the previous sign that it was by the saints' protection that the land was protected, since the king's army left it unharmed although he had intended to destroy it. And this second sign of light was to make manifest the testimony of the hermits'

tur, de illo monasterio, ubi sub pauperię mundę sepulturę cęlestis thesaurus iacet, cum misericordia super totam terram uenire non dubitantur.

[XVIII]

Alia hora, qui iuxta ecclesiam erant dormientes monachus et laicus, ambo exterriti audierunt inter multam lucem et timorem uoces cantantium, et uox legentis audita est euangelium Dei uiui, cuius finis est: *Intra in gaudium Domini tui.*¹

[XIX]

Erat unus, qui nunc illi ecclesię diaconus seruit; qui cum longa infirmitate arida ossa excoquente ligatis ossibus ad ecclesiam non posset uenire, nocte cum caperet somnum, uenerunt ad alium fratrem, trahentes secum splendorem cęlestem, sidereos uultus, pius Benedictus et felix Iohannes: Increpa, inquiunt, fratrem Stephanum, quare tot dies ad ecclesiam non uenit. Quare piger iacet et lectum artius amat? Surgat et cum fratribus ad opus Dei uadat! Cui hec uisio nocte apparuit, sequenti die illum ambulantem uidit, qui altero die ex diuturna infirmitate prope mortuus erat. Eratque mirum uigilanti, quia sic cito salutem dederunt dormienti, cum ad uocem iussionis clementium medicorum celeri sanitate domum orationis intraret, quasi numquam perderet faciles uires laboriosi corporis. Ubi aperte loquendo apparet, quam presentem salutaris misericordię uultum omni eorum necessitati apportet, qui in suorum seruorum honore facto monachorum die ac nocte Deo seruiunt, secundum illud: *Querite primum regnum Dei et hec omnia adicientur uobis,*² hoc est quecunque uobis necessaria sunt.

¹ Matt. 25: 21.

² Cf. Matt. 6: 33: *quaerite autem primum regnum et iustitiam eius et omnia haec adicientur uobis.*

sanctity, and it was doubtless that their patronage, if sought with a devout mind, would spread in mercy from that monastery, where that heavenly treasure was lying in a poor but clean grave, over the entire world.

[XVIII]

At another hour, a monk and a layman were sleeping next to the church and in great light and fear they both heard, terrified, voices singing, and a voice was heard reading the Gospel of the living God, which ends with: *Enter thou into the joy of thy Lord.*¹

[XIX]

There was a man that now serves that church as a dean; he could not come to the church because a long illness had ruined his dry bones and they were tied up, but at night while he was sleeping, holy Benedict and blessed John came to another brother, in celestial splendor and with shining faces: "Scold brother Stephen," they said, "since for many days he has not come to the church. Why does he lie in idleness and loves his bed so dearly? Let him rise and go to God's service with other brethren!" The next day, the man to whom the vision appeared at night saw that brother walking, though a day before he had been almost dead because of his long-lasting illness. And he who was awake was amazed that the brother so quickly regained his health while sleeping, since at the commanding voice of the merciful doctors he entered in sudden health the house of prayer as if he had never lost the working strength of his body. From which story it becomes evident how forthcoming saving grace is to all the needs of those who serve God day and night by honoring His servants, the monks, according to that saying: *Seek ye therefore first the kingdom of God, and his justice, and all these things shall be added unto you,*² that is: "whatever you need."

[XX]

Nam quanti demoniaci et quot modis per eorum digna merita sint liberati, gratias Deo, nec certa scientia pre multitudine, nec certus numerus est.

[XXI]

De catenis autem ferreis et ligneis compedibus nunc sano, nunc fracto ferro et, ubicumque est, soluto qualicumque uinculo, quantos illi per suam bonitatem liberant, nos pro nostra pigricia dicere piget, ut liquido appareat, quantam curam illi immortales habeant, quibus sine tristitia dati celerem salutem prestant; specialius autem eorum curam gerant, qui sibi comminus seruiunt, aut cum sint infirmę consciencię, ad maiorem animę suę salutem, quod Deus novos sanctos coronauit, ualde gaudent, secundum illud: *Dimissa sunt illi peccata multa, quoniam dilexit multum.*¹

Frater autem ille, uiuentibus adhuc in hac terra sanctis, et ab eis missus ad Apostolicam Sedem, quando cum licentia uenit, iam feliciter inuenit rem peractam, scilicet per martyrium eos euolasse ad cęlum, quamuis ego quem Benedictus iste pro sua bonitate et nimia caritate: Frater meus, appellare solebat, dudum eis nescientibus apostolicam licentiam accepissem.

[*Red. 1 quae desita uidetur*]² Cum autem misericordia Redemptoris talia circa sanctos esset operata, iterum rediens frater ille Romanam, cum martyrium eorum ibi nunciaret, ipso interrogante, papa³

¹ Cf. Luke 7: 47: *remittentur ei peccata multa quoniam dilexit multum.*

² In Karwasińska's edition, the two versions are printed in parallel columns. It is supposed that Bruno wrote both in order to select the better one. In the codex and in MGH, they are printed one after another (the codex giving no explanation).

[XX]

And how many of those obsessed by demons were liberated, and in how many ways, by their worthy merits and thanks be to God, one does not even know for sure, so many were they, and their number is uncertain.

[XXI]

And because of our sloth we are loath to tell of all the iron shackles and wooden leg stocks, where the iron was in one moment whole, in another broken, and of all the chains loosened everywhere, and how many men the saints have liberated in their goodness; from all this, it becomes manifest how much those immortals care for those to whom they give speedy deliverance without dejection, but especially how much they care for those who serve them close at hand or those who, even if they are of weak conscience, rejoice greatly that God has crowned these new saints for the greater salvation of their souls, according to that: *Many sins are forgiven her, because she hath loved much.*¹

And when that brother, whom the saints had sent to the apostolic see while they were still living on this earth, came back with the license, he found the deed happily accomplished, that is, that they had already flown away to heaven through martyrdom; although I, whom Benedict used to call “my brother” out of his goodness and excessive love, had in the meantime obtained the apostolic license, which they did not know.

[*Red. 1*]² And as the Redeemer’s mercy works with his saints in such a way, it happened that, when the brother returned to Rome in order to announce their martyrdom, the pope³ ordered without

³ Pope John XVIII (1004–1009). Apparently, the martyr status of the five brethren was recognized personally by the pope, without official canonization.

procul dubio iussit eos in loco sanctorum martyrum haberi et honorari.

[*Red. 2*] Cum autem me gyrouagum¹ nusquam uidisset, cum propter hoc ipsum interrogare et martyrium eorum renunciare rursum Romeus esse cepisset, quia discordia magna cum rege Saxonum erat,² dum timetur, ne in damnum sui imperii illorum cursus foret, cum satis bono Vungero episcopo in itinere comprehenditur, et missus Parthenopolim, in monasterio sub diligenti custodia tenetur.

Inter uagas quoque umbras noctis angustians homo cum dulcem caperet somnum, apparuerunt sibi sancti uiri uelut geminum sidus, Iohannes et Benedictus, ualde increpantes, cur staret, qui sine uoluntate et in horrida reclusionem ibi plures dies mansit: Unum, inquit, duorum, quem dimisisti in monasterio, perdidisti; si citius non uenis, alterum eris perditurus. Intellexit frater, quod non bene esset de loco sancto, ubi duos clericos posuit, qui donec ipse rediret, diligenti studio ibi seruirent; et non dubitans, se celitus adiuuari, cui a sanctis dictum est, ut cito ueniret, arrepta fuga, captans nocturna silencia, inter medium densorum hostium sine querela domum sanus uenit, secundum illud de Raphahele: Ego eum ducam et reducam sanum.³

[XXII]

Unus igitur ex duobus domi relictis clericis, ut fit sepe hoc tempore, de quo dictum est: *Erunt homines se ipsos amantes*,⁴ et: *Refri-gescet caritas multorum*,⁵ leuitate percussi animi captivus ductus, quia amor parentum eum uicit, sacrum locum sine timore reli-

¹ Benedictine Rule condemns *gyrovagi* in chapter 1 as irregular monks who refuse to observe the principle of stability.

² The war between Henry II and Boleslaw Chrobry lasted throughout 1004 and until August 1005.

³ Cf. Tob 5: 15: *Ego ducam et reducam eum ad te*.

hesitation and at his request that they should be considered holy martyrs and venerated as such.

[*Red. 2*] Since this brother never met me, the gyrovague,¹ he started back for Rome primarily in order to make that request and report of the martyrdom; but there was a great conflict with the Saxon king,² who feared that this action would be to the detriment of his empire, and along with the excellent bishop Unger he was arrested on the way and sent to Magdeburg, where he was kept in strict custody in a monastery.

And among the vague shadows of the night, as the troubled man had fallen into sweet sleep, the saintly men John and Benedict appeared to him like twin stars and rebuked him severely for staying there, although he had remained there against his will and in horrible captivity for many days: "One of the two," they said, "whom you left in the monastery, you have lost already; if you do not hurry back, you will lose the other." The brother understood that things went badly with the holy place, in which he had appointed two clerics to serve with diligent effort until his return; and doubting not that he would be helped from the heavens, since the saints were telling him to return quickly, he took flight using the silence of the night and returned home safely and without any trouble amidst the dense lines of enemies, according to the words of Raphael: I will conduct him and bring him back whole.³

[XXII]

Thus, as often happens in these times, of which it is said: *Men shall be lovers of themselves*,⁴ and: *The charity of many shall grow cold*,⁵ one of the two clerics that were left at home, smitten and led captive by the lightness of spirit because love for his parents

⁴ 2 Tim. 3: 2.

⁵ Matt. 24: 12.

quit. Et cum iam leto animo ad patrios lares propinquare cepisset, cruentis faucibus hians lupo obliqua uia contra se furendo et currendo uenit, cuius horrore sanguis fugit, uox hesit, gressus sunt ligati, omnia membra tremuere, steteret come, et errantes pedes nutare ceperunt. Vicinum interitum attonitis uisis cernens, iam sua uoluntate tunc staret, unde paulo ante fugere dulce habebat, ea uidelicet mente, qua homines qui timent tonitruum, uel quibus improuisa mors nulli parcens curuo anfractu incumbit, mallent bona, que non fecere, meliora fecisse, et quos non subierunt, maiores labores pro amore Dei subisse libenter uellent, quamuis iam sero diuisa mente hec et ima sorte promittunt. Tandem puer bono magistro lupo et prosperrima aduersitate doctus, intus in archano cordis, ubi omnem hominem pensat uidens Deus, si de manu bestię et sanguineo ore ingentis monstri inlesus exiret, unde fugitiuus fuit,^a amplius numquam egrederetur, sine deliberatione uisę melioris rei, ad felicia limina sanctorum martyrum letabundus remeauit, non semel appellatis suorum patronorum propiciis nominibus tota deuotione promisit.¹

Parcunt, qui amant, qui periculo prodesse non occidere sciunt; maiori cursu quam ueniret redeuntem lupum a suo seruo, ut mireris imperia martyrum sentientem inrationabile animal, secundum illud: *Si Deus pro nobis, quis contra nos?*² et: *Dic, ubi sunt natura tuę post talia leges?*³

Nec mora, qui fuga lapsus ad reuersum patrem culpam emendare reuertitur, sicut maior de adiutorio sanctorum gaudet, sic iunior ereptus de lupo, de suo reditu sanctorum tale miraculum narrat:

^a amplius – promisit *ita c. et Karw.*

¹ In Karwasińska's edition, this section is printed in parallel columns with Kętrziński's one: *quod amplius numquam egrederetur, non semel appellatis suorum patronorum propiciis nominibus tota deuotione promisit et sine deliberatione uisę melioris rei ad felicia limina sanctorum martyrum letabundus remeauit.*

² Rom. 8: 31.

³ Sedulius, *Carmen Paschale*, I, 220.

overwhelmed him, fearlessly abandoned the sacred place. And as he began to approach his parents' hearth with his spirit already joyful, a gaping wolf came from a side way with a bloodstained muzzle, stealing and running towards him, and at this horrible sight the monk's blood fled, his voice froze, his step was tied up, all his limbs trembled, his hair stood on end, and his roaming feet began to falter. Discerning with disbelieving eyes that his ruin was nigh, he wished he could be there whence a little earlier he found it sweet to flee. He was in the disposition of those who, because of fearing thunder or unexpected death, which spares no one coming by a winding way, would prefer to have done better even the good things they had failed to do, and wish they had made greater efforts for the love of God, though earlier they had made none; but it is too late if one promises it with a split mind and in dire misfortune. Finally, the boy, instructed by the good master wolf and this most favorable adversity, promised with utter devotion inwardly, in the hidden depths of his heart, where God sees all that man thinks, that, if he escaped unharmed from the claws of the beast and the bloodthirsty jaws of that huge monster, he would never again¹ step out of the place from which he had fled—and he returned joyfully to the blessed tombs of the holy martyrs, without hesitation, understanding what is better and invoking many a time the propitious names of his protectors.

Those who love, spare; for they know how to use danger as a means to advance, and not to kill: the martyrs made the wolf retreat from their servant faster than he had come, as if indeed this mindless animal had heard their orders, according to that: *If God be for us, who is against us?*²—and: *Tell me, nature, where are your laws after such things?*³

Thus in no time the boy who had escaped returned to the abbot to amend his guilt; and as the senior rejoiced about the help of the saints, the junior who was saved from the wolf told the following miracle of the saints about his return. "As I," he said, "fled to my sweet parents and it was the thing I least expected, I was met by

Dum, inquit, ad dulces parentes fugerem et nil minus quam hoc sperarem, media uia mihi ualde securo eunti, rapax lupus occurrit; et cum iam prope perditionem uite meę stare exanimis non dubitasset, clamaui ex toto corde ad patrocinia sanctorum amoto dubio me reuersurum, et sic salua facta est uita et anima mea. Sic uno tempore diuerso ordine conuenit gaudium, cum filius sanus redditur patri in gloriam gratię Filii Dei uiui, non longe ab eo, quod scriptum est: *Omnes cognoscent me a minimo usque ad summum*;¹ et: *Sicut anima patris, ita et filii mea est*.²

[XXIII]

Sepultis igitur sanctis, presbiter qui ibi dimissus est hora operis Dei missas facere, domo qua occisi sunt cum suis pueris manducare et bibere et in leticia humana noctem ducere cepit. Tunc quasi tonitruum cęli aut terre motus in circuitu domus ingenti fragore tonans sonitus uenit. Primum quorum cor labefecit et sanguis in precordia fugit, parum repressa uoce iocantes pueri silentium tenere; mox pro nihilo ducentes oblitum timorem, utpute sequentes peccantem presbiterum, ad suam uoluntatem rediere; et ecce, quasi indignante Deo impiam audaciam non timentium, inebriando se lasciuiam sequi, uerba uana et risum mouentia loqui, ubi paulo ante propter letos exitus terrestrium rerum angeli uerba cęlestia cecinere, repentino impetu prior percussio redit, qui periculoso crepitu terribilem penam minatur; insuper, quasi que non posset sufferre contumeliam eorum, qui non timerent falsam in ea facere uanitatem, ubi Deus compleuit suam ueritatem, ipsa domus a terra se eleuauit, et ima deserens et in aera uacua parietes alta suspendens, recedere minabatur.

Hoc primum signum sanctitatis eorum post sepulturam fuit.

¹ Jer 31: 34: *omnes enim cognoscent me a minimo eorum usque ad maximum.*

² Ezek 18: 4: *ut anima patris ita et anima filii mea est anima.*

a rapacious wolf in the middle of the way, as I was walking quite without care; and I was lifeless with fear and sure that I was close to losing my life, but then I invoked with all my heart the protection of the saints, promising that I would return without hesitation; and in this way my life and my soul were saved." Thus, at one time, but in different ways, they rejoiced that the son returned to the father, to the glory of the grace of the Son of the living God, as it is written: *For all shall know me from the least of them even to the greatest;*¹ and: *As the soul of the father, so also the soul of the son is mine.*²

[XXIII]

After the saints were buried, the priest who was left there to conduct masses at the hour of divine office began to eat and drink with his boys in the house in which the brethren had been killed, and to spend the night in human delights. Suddenly, a thundering sound came with a huge crash around the house, like thundering from the sky or an earthquake. At first, their hearts quavered and their blood froze in their breasts, and the playing boys fell into silence, suppressing their voices for a short while; but soon they forgot their fear, which they held for nothing, and, following the sinful priest, they went on at their will; and there, they were getting drunk and pursued their wantonness as if they did not fear that God would be enraged at such impious daring, and they spoke vain words and told jokes, where shortly before angels spoke heavenly words because of the joyful exit from the earthly affairs. Then the crash came again with a sudden impulse and there was dangerous rattling threatening with a terrible punishment; moreover, as if God could not suffer their insult, since they did not fear to pursue false vanities where he had accomplished his truth, the very house was lifted from the ground and, leaving the lower spheres and suspending its walls high in empty air, threatened to vanish.

That was the first sign of the martyrs' sanctity after their burial.

[XXIV]

Alia die dominica, homo nouicius Moyses presbiter uetulus, euntibus ex more fratribus ad pacem, quia ordinem confudit qui accedere non sapuit, custos ecclesię stans iuxta sanctorum sepulchrum de eius incontinentia subrisit, qui proprie morbus esse solet indisciplinatorum fratrum.¹ Mox acri dolore confixus, quasi acuto ferro in corde percussus, reuolutis cruribus, cepit retrorsum labi, putansque suo cultello uulnerari, dum circuit et nil periculi se habere sentit, tandem fatente gemitu reuersus ad sanum sensum, intellexit se peccasse Domino in presencia sanctorum; quia utique cum sit diabolicum irridere monachum, facile ridere omni loco graue peccatum est, maxime cum orat quis, aut psallit in conspectu angelorum coram Domino Deo, qui cum de cęlo ad terram humanum genus saluare descenderet, sepe quia fleuit, nusquam quia risit scriptum est.

[XXV]

Quidam frater Andreas—post preciosam eorum mortem componxit Dominus cor eius, ut abiecta propria uoluntate ad ipsorum monasterium confugeret, quod consecrato abbate dominus terrę feliciter edificare cepit—ibi integro anno ueste laicali simpliciter ambulans, cum in sacro loco morari cor ardens haberet, quadam nocte in cella sibi deputata, somnum capiens, quasi ablato coopertorio aliquis eum uigilare fecisset, subito exiliuit aperta fenestra; cum lata lux tota claustra inluminaret, magnam hanc

¹ Laughter was considered a severe offence in the monastic circles and is prohibited by the Benedictine Rule, chapter 4: *Verba vana aut risui apta non loqui*.

[XXIV]

On another Sunday, the novice Moses, an elderly priest, went as usually with the brethren for the kiss of peace, but he confused the order and did not know when to approach. The custodian of the church, who was standing next to the holy tomb, laughed about his intemperance, which is the very illness of brethren that lack discipline.¹ He was immediately struck by severe pain, as if his heart had been pierced by a sharp lance, and began to stumble backwards. He thought that he was wounding himself with his knife; but as he turned around and realized that there was no danger, he finally returned to his common sense, and with a cry of acknowledgment realized that he had sinned against the Lord in the presence of the saints. For it is indeed devilish to mock a monk, but it is also a grievous sin to laugh lightly in any place, especially if someone is praying or singing psalms in the sight of the angels before our Lord God, of whom it is written that, when he descended from the heavens to the earth in order to save the human race, he often wept, but never did he laugh.

[XXV]

After the precious death of the hermits, God pierced the heart of certain brother Andrew with repentance, so that he, setting aside his own will, took refuge in their monastery, which the lord of the land had happily begun to build and had consecrated an abbot in it. There he wandered in simplicity, in layman's dress, for an entire year; and his heart was ardently wishing to stay in that sacred place. On a certain night, as he was sleeping in the cell that was assigned to him, he felt as if someone had wanted to keep him awake by taking away his cover. He immediately leapt up and opened the window and looked outside; and as a broad light illuminated all the cloisters, he merited seeing the following vision. The saintly brethren were standing there and a short while afterwards they began to

uisionem uidere promeruit. Stetere sancti fratres et paulo post ambulare cepere beatus Iohannes ante humilem Benedictum, portans magnum lumen in dextera manu et in sinistro brachio quasi librum, et in medio digito pependit thuribulum ingens, unde scandens uapor aromate plurimo tota claustra adimpleuit. Intranť ecclesiam, sonante aperto hostio. Ille autem Andreas, qui clauēs habuit, ablato sibi a magistro, et magistrum cum ipsis intrare credidit, ex uisione uehementer expauit. Dumque querens eos circa se eos inueniret, alio timore plus timere cepit, et abscondens sub densis uestimentis tremencia membra, proiecit se in somnum. Venere iterum splendido uultu et candido ut nix amictu germana caritas fratrum alloqui dormientem eodem lumine et aromate, quo apparuere uigilanti; quem primo ad abbatem mittunt, post monente Benedicto ad ipsum seniorẽm his uerbis sermocinari iubent: Iam, inquiunt, satis apparuimus etiam et secularibus uiris in multis signis et portentis; quare non creditis nobis? Homines nunc ferreo, nunc ligneo, nunc rupto, nunc sano uinculo per Dei potentiam et misericordiam liberauimus, et si non reuerentia Dei, tamen causa nouitatis liberos dimittere in primitiuis signis oporteret, quos ille in dira custodia tenet. Similiter uiros, qui quamuis non bono animo occisis nobis hec bona dedere, illis non nocere, uxores et filios cum substantia eorum non disperdere, sed ut possint habere penitentiam et uitam conuertere eos in eternum Dei seruicium ad sanctum locum oporteret. Nos in tuam gloriam uoluntate huc uenimus et in tua terra superhabundantem misericordiam benigni Saluatoris inuenimus; omni etiam humilitate necessaria nostra nobis in carne ambulantibus ministrasti; comple bonum quod cepisti, in finem, fac quod diximus in libertate catenatorum et in misericordia nostrorum homicidarum. Si in aliis locis facis, hoc sit in tua prouidentia; ut autem loco quo in dominica noster erit conuentus iuxta cellam factam fiat ecclesia, sit nostrę petitionis iniuncta obedientia. Si nostrę uoluntati honorem seruaueris, scias te in uita eo maiorem consequi gratiam apud Deum, quo qui pro te cum amore intercedimus, uiciniores sumus ante eum. His dictis, somnus discessit ab oculis eius, et illi in ecclesiam, et ab ecclesia

walk: blessed John before humble Benedict, carrying a great torch in his right hand, while in his left he held something like a book; from his middle finger there hung a huge incense burner and the aromatic vapor that rose from it filled the entire monastery. They entered into the church, the door resounding as it opened. But Andrew, who had the keys, believed that the master had taken them from him and was entering together with those persons; and he was truly shaken by the vision. As he felt for the keys, he found that he still had them, and he began to fear even more and, concealing his trembling limbs under the thick bedclothes, he fell back to sleep. But the brethren came a second time in fraternal concern to speak to the sleeping man, with shining faces and snow-white garments, and with the same light and perfume with which they appeared to him awake. And first they sent him to the abbot; afterwards, Benedict admonished him to speak to the very lord of the land with the following words: "Already", they said, "we have appeared many times, and to secular men as well, in a number of signs and portents; why do you not believe us? We have liberated men, now from iron shackles, now from wooden stocks, some broken, some whole, through the power and the mercy of God; if not for reverence towards God, then at least out of the reason of novelty, you should have at the first signs released all those that he keeps in dire custody. Also, you should not harm the men that gave us this benefit, although they murdered us with an evil mind, or ruin their wives and children with their possessions, but rather send them to this holy place for eternal service to God in order that they should live and do penance. To your glory we have come here of our free will, and found overabundant mercy of our benevolent Savior in your land; with all humility you have ministered us what we needed while walking in this flesh; now bring the good, which you have started, to fulfillment; do what we have said regarding the liberation of prisoners and mercy towards our murderers. If you build churches in other places, let it be left to your providence; but in this place, in which our Sunday gathering will take place, let there be a church next to the cell and let it be in obedience imposed by our request. If you honor our wish, know that you will achieve greater glory in life

utique in cælum. Ne putaret se causa dicere ludicri, quem minus iam credere uidit, talia seniori innotescere abbas non permisit, secundum illud: *Illic trepidauerunt timore, ubi non erat timor.*¹

[XXVI]

Alia autem hora, cum iam monachus factus esset ipse frater Andreas et quadam die per necessitatem loci terram foderet, clara die ad instar tonitruui magnus sonitus factus est, et subito iuxta eum ambulantes uiri sancti apparuere. Qui cum relicto rastro pre timore semiuiuus ante pedes eorum staret, increpatus cur iussum non faceret, eisdem uerbis quę audierat in somnis, pretermisso abbate, iterum mittitur ad supradictum seniore Bolizlaum. Hoc ne negligat ualde admonetur, qui ut ipse interrogatus confitetur, extra quod auribus audiuit, nil omnino nouit. Et cum loqui uellet, qui quo loco stat insueta anastasi nescit, sanctae manus obiectae uetant, ne loquatur, utique, quia: *Non est speciosa laus in ore peccatoris,*² et ualde nocens est, ut uir pollutis labiis loquatur cum spiritibus sanctis. Dicunt ei iterum: Aperiatur ecclesia; si fratres uolunt canere missam, nos audimus. Nesciens iste homo ubi essent quos putat audire post tergum loquentes, cum se retorqueret, uidit ambulantes quosdam hospites, qui ob hoc ibi uenerunt ut missam audirent; uix in se redit; et uisis supradictis secularibus hospitibus, sancti uiri nusquam comparuerunt. Festinus inde secluis ianuis ecclesiam intrat, et quorum quasi pedum retro altare ambulantium audiuit, toto corpore ad sanctorum corpora pronus incumbit. Post hanc terribilem uisionem, presbiter Cristophorus albis se induit et

¹ Ps. 13: 5.

² Sirach 15: 9 (the Septuagint).

with God since we, who intercede for you out of love, stand closer before Him.” After they said this, sleep dispersed from his eyes and they went back to the church and from the church to the heavens. But the abbot did not permit him to announce such things to the lord, lest he be considered as saying ridiculous things, since he knew that he would not be believed, according to that: *There have they trembled for fear where there was no fear.*¹

[XXVI]

At another time, when the same brother Andrew had already become monk and was one day digging earth for the needs of the monastery, there was a great noise in plain daylight, resembling thunder, and immediately the saintly men appeared, walking next to him. As he, having dropped the rake, threw himself at their feet half dead from fear, they rebuked him for not having fulfilled their order. Then they again sent him to the abovementioned lord Boleslaw, repeating the same words that he had heard in his sleep and regardless of the abbot. He was severely admonished not to neglect it; and, as he admitted later, when he was asked about it, he did not understand anything except for the words he was hearing with his ears. Then he wanted to speak, for he did not know how it was with this unusual resurrection, but the saintly hands forbade it, commanding him to remain silent, since: *A hymn of praise is not fitting on the lips of a sinner*² and it is very harmful that a man should speak with polluted lips to holy spirits. Again they told him: “Let the church be opened; if the brethren wish to sing Mass, we will listen.” Since the man did not know where they were, though he believed he heard them speaking behind his back, he turned around and saw some visitors walking around, who had come there to hear the mass; he came back to himself with difficulty, but though he saw those secular guests, the holy men appeared no more. Hastening away from there and opening the gate of the church, he entered and threw himself down with all his length before the tomb of the saints, whose feet he could almost hear walk-

quia more solito suauiissimus odor non solum ecclesiam sed etiam tota claustra adimpleuit, cum magno Dei timore sacrę missę sollemnia compunctus peregit. Qui ad hoc fatebatur pre spisso fumo aromatum intercipi halitum, et multum laborare intercepto spiritu, donec missam finiret. Rursum quasi tonitruo magno sonante, aperiri piramidem de sepulchro sanctorum, ita ut leuaret se tectum uidit.

[XXVII]

Quadam die cum fratres ad mensam refectionis hora sederent, relictus est frater in ecclesia nomine Paulus, qui genuflexiones faceret; qui et hanc ipsam uisionem uidere promeruit, quam supradictus custos ecclesię uiderat Andreas, secundum hoc quod de inuisibili Deo scriptum est: *Cum simplicibus sermocinatio eius.*¹

[XXVIII]

Similiter, ut bonitas Dei hominibus manifestaret, quam accepta erat uita eorum in conspectu suo, unde opera manuum facere manus sanctorum consueuerunt, iuncus et corbes, ubi omnia ardebant, in medio igne posita incombusta apparuerunt, iuxta illud: *Ignem me examinasti, et non est inuenta in me iniquitas.*²

[XXIX]

Ungroꝝ de terra ueniens quidam nouicius bonę qualitatis secundum multiplex obedire et magnę puritatis secundum simplex uiuere, intempesta nocte uidit lucem magnam uelut sol totam ecclesiam

¹ Prov. 3: 32.

² Ps. 16: 3.

ing behind the altar. After this frightening vision, priest Christopher put on white garments and because, as before, the sweetest smell filled not only the church, but also all the cloisters, he celebrated the solemn service of the holy mass in compunction and with a great fear of God. As he admits today, he had to hold his breath because of the thick smoke of aromatic incense and struggled to breathe until he had finished the mass. Again, with a sound like a great thunder, he saw the saints' tombs open like a pyramid, so that its roof was lifted in the air.

[XXVII]

One day, as the brethren were sitting at the table at mealtime, a brother by the name of Paul was left in the church in order to do genuflections; and he merited to see that very vision, which the abovementioned custodian of the church, Andrew, had seen, according to that which is written of the invisible God: *His communication is with the simple*.¹

[XXVIII]

Similarly, in order that God's goodness might show to men how pleasing was their life in his eyes, the rush that the hands of the saints used to make handwork and the baskets they made remained untouched when they were placed in the midst of fire, even though everything else was burning, as it was said: *Thou hast tried me by fire, and iniquity hath not been found in me*.²

[XXIX]

A certain novice came from the land of the Hungarians, well disposed to manifold obedience and of great purity in simple liv-

illuminantem audiuitque suauissimam uocem et subtilem cantantium Osanna pium. Simul etiam tantum odorem ut per tota claustra aromatizans fumus discurreret, de plena ecclesia exeuntem aspexit, et aspiciendo se peccatorem talia percepisse, ita ut se absconderet ingenti pauore expauit. Hoc autem omnes fratres, maxime qui primus hoc loco stetit, utilis frater Antonius,¹ et de quo dictum est, simplex Paulus, cum lacrimarum inundatione testantur: Nunc, inquit, quia multi uenimus, non est talis gratia apud nos; tunc autem quasi in paradiso nec manducare, nec bibere, quantum incedere ac manere in sancto loco sola delectatio et desiderium erat. Timiama autem, inquit, opere peccati iam non uidemus; tunc die ac nocte sine intermissione ubique suauissimo odore, ita ut uideri posset, spissus fumus aromatum non solum in ecclesia, sed per tota claustra discurrebat.

[XXX]

Homo quidam duro ferro inclusus, cum magna necessitate positus periclitabatur; qui non parum refrigerii interim obliuiscentibus dolorem prestat afflictis, apta ad suum officium nocte, dulcis sopor eum oppressit. Visitatur celitus et increpatur cur non surgeret; qui apparuere duo quasi unus, cito surgat et post se ueniat, sancti fratres iusserunt. Quo ingemiscente, cum se non posse dicit, inclinantes se sancti uiri, ferrum tetigere, quod ad lenem tactum cęlestium digitorum stare nescit, et sanę catenę que longe resiliunt, cum potestate foras exierunt. Fugit somnus ab oculis eius; ille liber mouet currentes pedes, ubi manifesto corpore uidet precedentes sanctos. Quem, sicut nos in cęlo cum orant pro hominum salute, ita nunc in terra cum soluunt de corporea necessitate ante se ambo

¹ This Anthony may have been the abbot at the time, and is identical according to some scholars with Bolesław's *familiaris* Tuni mentioned by Thietmar of Merseburg in *Chronicon*, 7, 20 and 8, 33, for the years 1015 and 1018. So e.g. Tadeusz Wojciechowski, "Eremici reguły św. Romualda, czyli benedyktyni Włoscy w Polsce jedenastego wieku" [Hermits of the rule of St. Romuald, Italian Benedictines in eleventh-century Poland], in *Szkice historyczne jedenastego wieku* [Historical essays on the eleventh century] (Warsaw: Instytut wydawniczy "Biblioteka Polska", 1925), 13–5.

ing, and he saw in the dead of the night a great light illuminating the whole church like sunshine while he heard a most tender and subtle voice singing *osanna pium*. At the same time, he felt a sweet smell filling the church and then coming out of it, so that aromatic smoke spread over the entire monastery; and, realizing that he, although a sinner, saw such things, he became so frightened that he ran and hid himself. And all the brethren attested to it in abundance of tears, especially the serviceable Anthony, who counted as the first of that place,¹ and Paul, a simple man, of whom I have spoken before. "Now", they said, "that we have grown in number, there is no such grace among us; whereas in those times, as in Paradise, we would neither eat nor drink, our sole delight and desire was to come and remain in this sacred place. But now," they said, "we never feel the incense any more because of our sins." That day and night, there was a most tender smell everywhere and incessantly, and thick aromatic smoke could be seen spreading not only in the church, but also all over the monastery.

[XXX]

There was a man enclosed in hard iron, and he was in great need and peril; but the night knew its task, and he was overcome by sweet sleep, which brings relief to the afflicted for a while, and lets them forget their suffering. He was visited from the heavens and rebuked for not rising from his bed; and the two saintly brethren, who seemed as one, ordered him in unison to rise quickly and follow them. As he began to groan and said that he could not, the saintly men bent down and touched the iron, which gave in to the light touch of the celestial fingers, and the solid chains, springing far apart, came out with force. Sleep fled from his eyes; free, he moved his feet and ran in the direction in which he saw the saints going before him, in body manifest. And the two good ones, just as they liberate us in heaven when they pray for our salvation, and free us now on earth from bodily necessity, sent him before them and imposed him the joyful task of going to their monastery, safe

boni mittunt, et ut monasterium eorum ubi gratias agat, nemine sequente securus uadat, letam obedienciam iniungunt, secundum illud: *Dominus inluminatio mea et salus mea; quem timebo?*¹

[XXXI]

Notandum, quod quociens signa facientes hominum oculis se manifestarunt, relictis tribus, duo tantum semper apparuere, utique, quia quam solam genuit gratia Dei, de ceterorum tota gloria bene uiuentium et melius desiderantium, horum duorum in caput est meritum. Martyrizati sunt autem sancti qua die bonus Menna,² loquens grece, inaudita mirabilia, martyrium subiit, et Martinus³ confessor Domini preciosus, gemma sacerdotum qui innumeris signis et beneficiis Gallię perhibet sine improprio merita sua, Ihesum Christum, uitam angelorum, amatorem hominum, quem in terra parte uestiuit, in cęlo totum accepit. Ea die, qua magno et inaudito triumpho ascendit mirabilis Deus in cęlum, quando terrę captiuitatem captiuam duxit, missa pace leta angelorum et que iam non moritur redempta salute perditorum hominum; ipsa die qua calicem salutaris, solam spem uacue miserię corpus et sanguinem redemptio redemptis tradidit, et in qua creator cęli et terrę pedes discipulorum lauit, relinquens exemplum munde caritatis, multo priuilegio celse humilitatis, hac die in caritate Dei passi sunt duo cum tribus et tres non sine duobus.

[XXXII]

Isti sunt duo fratres Iohannes et Benedictus spiritu et ueritate, quibus stat uirtus non in quantitate temporis, sed in mensura feruoris;

¹ Ps. 26: 1.

² St Menas suffered martyrdom during Diocletian's persecutions and is venerated in both the Eastern and Western churches on November 11.

³ St Martin, bishop of Tours, d. in 397 or 401, widely venerated throughout Christianity.

as nobody followed him, in order to offer thanks according to the words: *The Lord is my light and my salvation, whom shall I fear?*¹

[XXXI]

It should be mentioned that, however many times they manifested themselves to the eyes of men in signs, only two of the brethren were always appearing, having left the other three behind, certainly because among them the glory of good life and better desire, which is only created by God's grace, was chiefly conferred on those two. And the saints suffered martyrdom on the day on which the good Menna,² who spoke of unheard wonders in Greek, suffered martyrdom, and on which Martin,³ the precious confessor of our Lord and a gem among priests, who disclosed his merits to Gaul unfaltering with innumerable signs and benefits, was granted in entirety in heaven the One whom he partly clothed on this earth, namely Jesus Christ, the life of the angels, the lover of humans. It was the day on which wonderful God ascended to heavens in great and unprecedented triumph, as He led captive the captivity of the world, having sent the joyful peace of the angels and having redeemed lost men in salvation, which henceforth does not die; it was the day on which our Redemption offered to us, the redeemed, the chalice of salvation, the only hope in the emptiness of our misery, His body and His blood, and on which the Creator of heaven and earth washed the feet of his disciples, giving an example of pure love with the great gift of lofty humility: on that day, in the love of God
they died, two with three
and three not without the two.

[XXXII]

These are John and Benedict, two brethren in spirit and truth, whose virtue is not measured in length of time, but in fervor; they

multa mortificatione se cum uiciis et concupiscentiis steterē parum in monasterio et plus in heremo. Pares obedientia et humilitate, dispares patientia et caritate; etate iuuenes, mente senes uno studio eternorum colentes preciosam fraternitatem; odio mundi et diuiciarum custodes uirtutum,

^a/gerentes salutarem tristitiam et cordi insitum dolorem non eo, quod molles et desides nil sicut nos uere miseri utilis laboris fecerint, sed quod non tantum quantum accintis et perfectis uiris conuenit, spiritualibus causis ad Marię optimam partem certauerint. Timentes hoc esse iusticiam Ihesu, et iram Dei, quoniam non secundum illud: *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo, angelis et hominibus*,¹ ut delectaret uidere, legitime certandi locum non habuerint; qui uolentes et currentes, bonum cursum inuenire digni non fuerint, sicut scriptum est: *Non uolentis neque currentis, sed miserentis Dei est*.² Volebant suscitare ad uitam christianitatis mortuos paganos, putantes tanto plus misericordiam inuenire in conspectu Imperatoris, quantum in eius seruicium pro quarum amore non pepercit unigenito Filio plus inuentarum animarum aduexissent. Sub qua munda occasione, cuius donum est omne bonum, si calicem salutaris dignatio Dei offerret, libenter sumentes, non tam peccatum hominum quam lucrum animarum ardentē uolebant, tanto acceptiores suo Regi quantum pro eius nomine nullo parcent labori./³

Cum maiorem tristitiam haberent, insperata salute uenit Deus, et illi qui quiescentibus fessis animabus breui labore ingerunt nolentes sine fine eternum quiescere, dum inhumana uoluntate ferro non parcent, inquieti hospites nescientes adduxerunt cum parua amaritudine tanta dulcia que nec numerum, nec finem habent, que malis omnem absentiam, bonis omnem presentiam dabunt. At ut nihil

^a gerentes – parcent labori cf. *supra* n. i.

¹ 1 Cor. 4: 9.

² Rom. 9: 16.

³ See p. 262, n. 3.

mortified themselves greatly along with their vices and desires, a short while in the monastery and longer in the hermitage. They were equal in obedience and humility, but unequal in patience and charity, young in age, but old in mind; they nurtured their precious brotherhood by striving towards the eternal single-mindedly; hating the world and its riches, they guarded their virtues;

/they bore salutary grief and heartfelt pain, not because, faint and idle like us, who are truly pitiful, they did no useful work, but because they felt that they did not struggle in spiritual things for the Virgin to their best, as befits well-girded and perfect men. They feared that they deserved the judgment of Jesus and the anger of God, because contrary to what is written: *We are made a spectacle to the world, and to angels, and to men*,¹ which would have been pleasing to see, they had no chance of fighting legitimately, since it was not given to them to find the good course, though they were willing and running, as it is written: *So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy*.² They wanted to resuscitate dead pagans to the life of Christianity, thinking that they would have found much more mercy in the sight of the Emperor, the more discovered souls they had brought to His service, for the love of which souls He did not spare His only begotten Son. And if God, whose gift is all that is good, had deigned to offer the chalice of salvation on that pure occasion, they would have accepted it gladly, since they fervently longed for the gain of souls rather than for human sins, wishing to be more pleasing to their King and shunning no effort in His name./³

And then, as they became very sad, God came with unexpected salvation: the murderers who against their will brought the eternal and endless rest after a brief torment to those weary souls while they were trying to find rest, they, the restless intruders, who in their inhuman purpose showed no mercy when using their swords, brought them, unaware, with that small bitterness, so many sweet things which have neither number nor end and which will offer the complete absence of evil and all the presence of good. And

deesset gratiæ Dei, et ut nihil ex omnibus que illorum erant, uacaret ad gloriam eorum, nouicii discipuli adhuc et coqus eorum cum ipsis omnes innocentes occisi, qui nullo questu et lucro huius sæculi, sed in seruicio Dei tota intentione steterunt cum suis senioribus, diu opatum acquisierunt; ita quod foris ingenti labore temptabant, domi in propriis sedibus ad ritum optantis sponte aduenit, et non laborantibus in uia sed paasantibus in lecto larga manu cęlestis gratia affluxit. Vere, quia misericordię Domini multę nimis,¹ cuius gratię sunt mores boni super milia auri et argenti, cuius iudicia iustificata in semet ipsis, canuntur in carminibus angelorum *desiderabilia super aurum multum, et dulciora super mel et fauum*.² Ambo christicolę hec in uita desiderauerunt, ambo cęlicolę cum suis omnibus desiderantes in morte perceperunt, ambobus senectus non diuturna nec numero annorum computata, sed etas senectutis uita immaculata.³ Horum prior Benedictus maliciam quasi uenenum execratus numquam detraxit, nec detrahere permisit. Siue culpabilis siue non, ut obiecta culpa frater se defenderet, egre ferre solebat. Contentionem autem sicut nec facere, ita etiam numquam audire potuit, iuxta illud: Ubi contentio et zelus inter uos est, *nonne carnales estis?*⁴ et iterum: *Seruum Dei non oportet litigare, sed mitem esse ad omnes*.⁵

Cum uita sanctorum narratur, hoc singulare uerbum in ore Benedicti erat: Bene hic fecit sua, uideamus quomodo faciamus nostra, quia unusquisque onus suum portabit.⁶ Similiter in aduersis et prosperis monasticę conuersationis que est uita cęlestis super terram, quicquid euenit, et quando de Latina terra ultra montes acci-

¹ Cf. Ps. 118: 156: *misericordiae tuae multae, Domine*.

² Cf. Ps. 18: 10–11: *timor Domini sanctus permanens in saeculum saeculi iudicia Domini uera iustificata in semet ipsa desiderabilia super aurum et lapidem pretiosum multum et dulciora super mel et fauum*.

³ Wisd. 4: 8–9 (the Septuagint).

⁴ Cf. 1 Cor. 3: 3: *cum enim sit inter uos zelus et contentio nonne carnales estis et secundum hominem ambulatis*.

⁵ Cf. 2 Tim. 2: 24: *seruum autem Domini non oportet litigare sed mansuetum esse ad omnes*.

⁶ Gal. 6: 5.

in order that God's grace should become fully manifest and that nothing of those things that belonged to the hermits should be missing in their glory, those followers who were still novices at the time, together with their cook, were all murdered innocent along with them; they, who sought nothing, no gain from this world, but persisted in God's service with all their purpose together with their seniors, received what they had longed for. Thus, what they strove to do abroad and with huge effort, came to them of its own accord at home, in their own dwelling, just as they wished it; and with a generous hand heavenly grace poured on them not while they were toiling on the way, but while they were resting in their beds. Truly, many indeed are Lord's mercies¹ and his grace is found in customs that are better than thousands of pieces of gold and silver, and his judgments, justified in these very saints, are sung in the songs of the angels: "More to be desired than gold and sweeter than honey and the honeycomb."² Both cultivators of Christ desired these things in life, both inhabitants of heavens with all their companions received what they desired in death; to both of them, old age was not a long period of time, or counted by the number of years, but a spotless life was their old age.³ Benedict, the senior among them, abhorred malice like poison and never belittled anyone of anything or allowed others to do so. Regardless of whether a brother was guilty or not, he took it ill if he defended himself against the guilt he was accused of. Yet as he never engaged in contention, he could not listen to it either, according to that: *Whereas there is among you envying and contention, are you not carnal?*⁴ And again: *The servant of the Lord must not wrangle, but be mild towards all men.*⁵

And when the lives of the saints were narrated, Benedict always concluded with the same sentence: "He did his thing well; let us see how we shall do ours, for every one shall bear his own burden."⁶ Similarly, in both the difficult and the favorable moments of monastic life, which is the heavenly life on earth, whatever came to pass, and also when he walked from the Latin land across the mountains in order to receive the kingdom of God, he always

pere regnum Dei ambulauit, loquens semper de psalmista: *Magna opera Domini exquisita in omnes uoluntates eius*,¹ hoc prouerbium ueritatis in memoriam nobis reliquit. Hoc quoque aliter Iohannes dixit: Cum nil Domino Deo placeat nisi puritas, nequaquam nobis imperitis tanta dampnatio est, si uagamur in psalmis, quantum doctis est qui possunt et intelligere nolunt, iuxta illud: *Sciens et non faciens iudicium est illi*.² Et hanc breuem regulam a magistro Romaldo accepit, quam custodire in uita ipse multum sollicitus fuit: Sede in cella quasi in paradiso,³ proice post tergum de memoria totum mundum, cautus ad cogitationes quasi bonus piscator ad pisces. Una uia est in psalmis, hanc ne dimittas. Si non potes omnia, qui uenisti feruore nouicio, nunc in hoc, nunc illo loco psallere in spiritu et intelligere mente stude, et cum ceperis uagari legendo, ne desistas, sed festina intelligendo emendare; pone te ante omnia in presentia Dei cum timore et tremore, quasi qui stat in conspectu imperatoris, destrue te totum, et sede quasi pullus contentus ad gratiam Dei, qui nisi mater donet, nec sapit, nec habet quod comedat.

Hic denique prior, Benedictus, miles in monasterio, maior in heremo, plus temporis quam alter frater, id est Iohannes, militare Deo cepit feruenti desiderio, preteritorum laborum stipendiis fratrem sine inuidia uincens. Quamuis autem Iohannes maiorem pacientiam haberet, nunc inter fortunas mundi, cuius nulla cura est, nunc inter aduersa et prospera spiritualis uite, auream utique mediocritatem⁴ plus possideret. Ille utique Benedictus rerum spiritualium erat, iste autem Iohannes pulchre loquens, temperatis moribus fit affabilis et homo conueniens erat. Ille quoque Benedictus, in qua tota lex pendet et propheta⁵ maiore caritate Deum dilexit et proximum, iste uero Iohannes, molli animo et stabili opere, amplius

¹ Ps. 110: 2.

² James 4: 17.

³ Cf. Jerome, *Ep. Ad Rusticum monachum*, MPL 22, 1076 n. 936: *habeto cellulam pro paradiso*.

⁴ Cf. Horace, *Carm.* II, 10, 5: *auream quisque mediocritatem diligit*.

⁵ Cf. Matt. 22: 40: *in his duobus mandatis universa lex pendet et prophetae*.

spoke the words of the psalmist: *Great are the works of the Lord: sought out according to all his wills*¹; and he left this saying of truth to remind us. Otherwise, John also said this: "Since nothing pleases God but purity, to us, the unknowing, it is not such damnation if we stray a little when chanting Psalms, as it is for the learned, who can understand but refuse to, according to the words: *To him therefore who knoweth to do good, and doth it not, to him it is sin*."² And he received this brief rule from Master Romuald, which he took great care to observe in his own life: "Sit in your cell like in Paradise³; throw the entire world behind your back, out of your memory, and take heed of your thoughts as a good fisherman does of fish. The one way is in the Psalms: do not stray from it. If you cannot do all things, you who came with the fervor of a novice, do your best to sing Psalms in your spirit and understand them by your mind, now in this place, now in another; and if you should begin to wander off while you are reading, do not give up, but hurry to amend it by understanding; before all things place yourself in the presence of God, with fear and trembling, as one who stands before the face of the Emperor; destroy yourself utterly and sit there like a chick, content with God's mercy, since if its mother would not feed it, it would not know what to eat nor have anything to eat."

So finally, that senior Benedict, soldier in the monastery and a greater one in hermitage, had been serving God with fervent desire for a longer period of time than the other brother, that is, John, and surpassed the latter in the rewards of past efforts without causing envy. For although John had more patience, he certainly possessed the golden middle way⁴ in the fortunes of the world, which are of no account, as well as in the hardships and the good moments of spiritual life. Certainly Benedict was a man of spiritual things; and John, who could speak beautifully, with his temperate disposition, was a pleasant and agreeable man. Besides, Benedict loved God and his neighbor with greater love, on which the whole law and the prophets depend⁵; John, again, had a meek spirit and was stable in deed, so that he never changed his face to something

uultus in diuersa non mutauit. Ambo boni, qualis peior, sat optimus ipse erat; uterque Benedictus et Iohannes, martyrio consummatus in breui expleuit tempora multa, placita enim Deo erat anima eius.¹ Iohannes namque, nutricius paciētię et sanctę spei, Benedictus, uere benedictus, et iste bene natus Iohannes,² eo quod recte timeant Dominum, mansueti et humiles corde, habitare in se fecerunt Spiritum Sanctum, cuius uerba sunt, sicut os Domini locutum est: *Super quem requiescet spiritus meus, nisi super humilem et quietum et trementem sermones meos?*³ Ita quia caritate se non separauerunt, humiles ambulauerunt, ueritatem fecerunt, bene uixerunt, melius finierunt, sibi Alleluia habuerunt, nobis Kyrieleyson dimiserunt⁴ prestante, qui propter se bona creauit, uiuo Deo, et qui nostra mala suo sanguine redemit, Ihesu Christo Filio Dei, qui nos recte loqui docet et bene uiuere facit, Spiritu^a Sancto Dei, sicut erat, est, et uenturus est, semel salutem loquens, ter rex glorię, noster Deus per immortalia secula desiderabilium seculorum. Amen.

^a spiritu *coni. Kętrziński*; spiritui *c.*

¹ Wisd. 4: 13–14 (the Septuagint). Bruno uses singular here, probably to accentuate the martyrs' unity of mind.

² Play of words: *benedictus* = blessed, as opposed to *bene natus*, well-born.

³ Isa. 66: 2.

different. Both were good, and even the one that was worse, was very good indeed; both of them, Benedict and John, as they were perfected in martyrdom, fulfilled much time in a short while; for *his soul was pleasing to God*.¹ John was richer with patience and holy faith; Benedict was truly blessed, while John was well born,² for they rightfully feared God; they were mild and humble at heart and let the Holy Spirit live in them, whose words were, as they were spoken through the Lord's mouth: *But on whom shall my spirit rest, but on him that is poor and little, and of contrite spirit, and that trembleth at my words?*³ Thus, they were never separated in love and walked humbly, acted truthfully, lived well, and ended better; so they won the *Halleluia*h for themselves and left the *Kyrieleyson* to us⁴ with the permission of the living God, who created good things in his own right, and Jesus Christ, the son of God, who redeemed our evils with His blood, and the Holy Spirit of God, who teaches us to speak well and makes us live well, God as He was, is, and will come, the one who has granted salvation once, who is the king of glory thrice, our God, for centuries without end, desirable ever and ever. Amen.

⁴ There is considerable hesitation in the existing editions and translations of the text concerning the correct punctuation of this passage; the present translation does not follow any of the solutions offered, but assumes that there is no break between the words *dimiserunt* and *prestante*, and up to the end of the text. For more detailed information on this, see Karwasińska's critical apparatus ad loc. in her edition, p. 84.

THE LIVES OF THE HOLY HERMITS
ZOERARD THE CONFESSOR AND
BENEDICT THE MARTYR
BY MAURUS, BISHOP OF PÉCS



Fig. 6. St. Andrew-Zoerardus. Engraving by Johann Jacob Hoffmann from Gábor Hevenesi SJ., Régi magyar szentség - Ungariae sanctitatis indicia, (Trnavia, 1692).

PREFACE

MARINA MILADINOV

Notwithstanding its brevity, the legend of Zoerard and Benedict is not only valuable as a historical source, but also of special interest for literary historians as the earliest preserved hagiographic text written on the territory of Hungary.¹ Its author is Bishop Maurus of Pécs, who composed it most probably in 1064 or shortly before. This dating is based upon the fact that the *vita* was presented to Duke Géza in that year, together with a piece of Zoerard's penitential belt. Even though some of the basic facts about the two hermits remain obscure, the great interest in both the legend as text and their sainthood should not be a surprise, since they were canonized as early as 1083 at the instigation of Hungarian king Ladislas, thus taking their places among the first patron saints of the kingdom.²

The older hermit, Zoerard (also variably known as Lat. Zoerardus, Slav. Swirad, Sworad, Świerad, and Hung. Szórád in

¹ *Legenda sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti*, SRH 2, 347–62. A useful bibliography of primary sources and scholarly literature can be found in the proceedings of the symposium *Święty Świerad i jego czasy* [Saint Zoerard and His Time], ed. Stanisław Pietrzak (Nowy Sącz: Katolickie Stowarzyszenie “Civitas Christiana”, 2001), 314–22. The following paragraphs owe much to my book, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008), 115–27 and 199–202.

² About the events of 1083, see Gábor Klaniczay, “From Sacral Kingship to Self-Representation: Hungarian and European Royal Saints” in *The Uses of Supernatural Power: The Transformation of Popular Religion in Medieval and Early-Modern Europe* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1990), 79–94; idem, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), especially 123ff. For a more recent treatment of this issue, see Richard Marsina, “Miesta pustovníčenia a čas svätorečenia svätých Svoráda-Ondreja a Benedikta” [Sites of eremitism and the canonization of saints Zoerard-Andrew and Benedict], in *Z dějin visegrádského prostoru. Richardu Pražákovi k pětasedmdesátinám*, ed. Vladimír Goněk and Radomír Vlček (Brno: Masarykova univerzita v Brně, 2006), 9–17.

medieval and modern sources), has been the subject of a wealth of scholarly writings since what we could consider its beginnings: the hagiographic collectivist enterprise of the seventeenth century. The most fervently discussed issue has been that of the origins of the two hermits, the opinions being primarily divided between Polish and Slovak scholars. They have mainly based their arguments on the indication in another text, the *Vita Stephani maior*, that Zoerard came *de terra Poloniensium* or *Poloniensi*; the same source mentions both hermits, Zoerard and Benedict, coming to Hungary together, as well as the early existence of a popular cult.¹ The arrival of Zoerard in Hungary, that is, the region of Nitra that was at the time under Hungarian rule, very likely took place early in the reign of King Stephen, whereby the legend relates his arrival to the fame of the king as a magnanimous patron of all religious men.

¹ *Vita sancti Stephani maior*, 7, SRH 2, 382. This dispute was most fervent after World War II, when its major representative on the Polish side was Henryk Kapiszewski, who in a series of articles published in *Nasza Przyszłość* (see Bibliography for full reference) sought to defend the hypothesis that the birth-place of Zoerard was Opatowice, a small settlement at a spot where the Dunajec flows into the Wis-tula river. This interpretation was basically accepted by other Polish historians, such as Jerzy Kłoczowski ("L'Érémisme dans les territoires slaves occidentaux," in *L'Eremitismo in Occidente nei secoli XI e XII. Atti della seconda settimana internazionale di studio: Mendola, 30 agosto – 6 settembre 1962* [Milan: Università Cattolica di Sacro Cuore, 1965], 330–54) and Józef Tadeusz Milik (*Święty Świerad. Saint Andrew Zoerardus* [Rome: Edizioni Hosianum, 1966]), but was on the Slovak side opposed by Josef Kútník, "O pôvode pustovníka Svorada (K počiatkom kul'túrnych dejín Liptova)" [On the origins of hermit Zoerard (about the beginnings of the cultural history of Liptovo)], *Nové obzory* 11 (1968), 5–122. On the Slovak side an important early study by Rudolf Holinka should be mentioned: "Sv. Svorad a Benedikt, svätci Slovenska" [Saint Zoerard and Benedict, saints of Slovakia], *Bratislava* 8 (1934), 304–52. The hypothesis of Imre Boba, who argued in a series of articles in favor of the provenance of the two hermits from the region of Pola (Croat. Pula) in Istria, has not gained much support. In English: Imre Boba, "Saint Andreas-Zoerard: a Pole or an Istrian?" *Ungarn Jahrbuch* 7 (1976), 65–71. However, his ideas have been reassessed in the late 1990s by Stanisław Pietrzak, "*Świrad zwany też Zorardem* – znad Adriatyku czy Dunajca? Część I" [*Świrad, also called Zorard* – coming from the Adriatic or from Dunajec? Part 1], *Slavia Antiqua* 39 (1998), 81–158; and "*Świrad zwany też Zorardem* – znad Adriatyku czy Dunajca? Część II" [*Świrad, also called Zorard* – coming from the Adriatic or from Dunajec? Part 2], *Slavia Antiqua* 41 (2000), 49–106. For a more extensive treatment of the debate, see my book *Margins of Solitude*, 115ff.

Further issues of interest are Zoerard's penitential practices and the organizational principles of the monastery of St. Hyppolite at Zobor, which made it possible for the hermit to avoid the obligatory coenobitic period of preparation imposed by the Benedictine Rule. Zoerard was obviously a layman before he came to Nitra, since he still used his Slavic name and was given the Christian name of Andrew only when assuming the habit, but apparently the abbot granted him permission to set up a hermitage within an acceptable distance and engage in extremely austere mortification. This fact has led Józef Tadeusz Milik to presume connections with Oriental monasticism, particularly those of the Syro-Palestinian tradition, whereby the community may have been partly Byzantine-Slavonic and a vestige from the times of the Cyrillo-Methodian mission.¹

There are indeed details clearly pointing to an Oriental influence: for example, Maurus mentions that Zoerard followed throughout the Lent period the model of regular life under which *abba* Zosimas lived, only with nuts instead of dates. Evidently, this program of extreme fasting is reminiscent of the severe practices of the desert ascetics, and so are Zoerard's bodily lacerations, which were most peculiar and self-destructive, and not at all typical for the time-period in the West. His way of sleeping completely upright and immobile, or depriving himself of sleep altogether, with especially devised contraptions designed to turn the nocturnal repose after daily labor into torment and affliction, have but few Western precedents. However, deprivation of sleep was customary in the asceticism of Palestinian monks and is mentioned in widely circulated writings the knowledge of which was brought to the West by travelling monks or Greek ascetics, such as the *Life of Euthymius* by Cyril of Scythopolis, Palladius's *Historia Lausiaca*, or the so-called *First Greek Rule of Pachomius*, where the device is known as the *kathismáthion* and numbers among the basic tools of

¹ Józef Tadeusz Milik, *Święty Świerad. Saint Andrew Zoerardus* (Rome: Edizioni Hosianum, 1966), 47.

an ascetic.¹ Syrian monks, who were particularly famous for their self-destructive asceticism, developed methods that would keep them awake for prolonged periods of time, that is, not only during the part of the night dedicated to vigils or liturgy, but as a means of chastising the body: indeed, it appears from the examples that sometimes it was even more crucial not to touch the horizontal surface with one's back than to remain awake.² The wooden crown with stones hanging on four sides, which Zoerard used as well, served basically the same purpose.

A metal chain tied around the waist was a more common device of mortification, also more characteristic for the East, but sporadically practiced in the West as well. In Zoerard's case, however, it was tied so tightly that with time his flesh grew around it and he apparently died eventually from gangrene or metal poisoning. The fact that he applied this additional instrument of torture to himself was evidently not known in the community of Zobor during his lifetime, since its discovery caused great surprise when the body was washed for burial. This chain subsequently became the most valuable relic related to Zoerard.

Finally, we might consider the question of the master-disciple relationship between Zoerard and Benedict. In Oriental monasticism, which incorporated eremitism to a far larger extent than the Western variety and was in comparison relatively unstable and individualistic, obedience represented the very basis of order. But also Western authors who showed deep respect for both forms of monasticism, coenobitic and eremitic, such as Cassian or Benedict, accentuated the importance of the spiritual father above all principles, harshly condemning those who were so presumptuous

¹ Cf. André Jean Festugière, *Les Moines d'Orient*, vol. 1: *Culture ou sainteté. Introduction au monachisme oriental* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1961), 87.

² Arthur Vööbus, *History of Asceticism in the Syrian Orient. A Contribution to the History of Culture in the Near East* (Leuven: Secretariat du Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium, 1958–60, 1988), 264–5.

as to allow their own will to guide them.¹ Even though there were cases of direct anachoresis without previous training—but resulting nevertheless in great holiness—such cases were rare and happened only through direct revelation: they were not meant to be taken as law.

Within the framework of the type of eremitism that did not necessarily spring from the coenobitic community, with its mandatory probationary period and the supervision of its abbot, the role of the spiritual father was crucial in the formation of a hermit and his choice was therefore of crucial importance. Therefore it always carried far more weight in Oriental monasticism, where eremitism was more present and asceticism more individualized. Once chosen, the spiritual father became the supreme guide in all matters of his disciple's spiritual development and the sole judge—on the basis of his experience, wisdom, and gift of discernment—of the path that would be most appropriate for his disciple's ascent towards salvation. It should be added that benefits did not flow only in one direction: an important function of the disciple was that of a living witness to his teacher's sanctity and often also as his biographer, for he was the one who collected in his memory the wise teachings and was often the only witness to the severity of penitence that the elder imposed on himself. Even though we learn nothing from Maurus about the nature of the relationship of the two hermits during Zoerard's lifetime, it is mentioned that after his death Benedict inherited his cell, which was the usual order of things in Oriental eremitism.

Eventually, one should mention the interesting fact that the two hermits have been “adopted” by two monastic orders which had not even existed at the time in which they lived: the Camaldolese and the Paulines. This circumstance has marked the development of their cult from the seventeenth century onwards and nowadays some of the most well-known pictorial representations

¹ *Regula Benedicti* 1, 6–12, ed. Adalbert de Vogüé, *Sources chrétiennes* 181 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1975), 438–40; Cassian, *Collationes* 18, 2–4, ed. E. Pichery, *Sources chrétiennes* 64 (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 1959), 12–4.

of the two hermits bear the signs of this anachronistic affiliation.¹ Thus, Paulinus Klodauski, himself a member of the Pauline order, who described its foundation in 1635, wrote of a meeting between the two hermits and Bishop Gerard of Csanád, upon which Zoerard “from the coenobite monastery of Zobor became a Pauline hermit in the Nitrian territory,”² and this view of events was perpetuated in other sources, so that in 1692 the author of *Ungariae sanctitatis indicia* acknowledged the confusion by observing: “Andrew is listed among their saints by the Benedictines, the Camaldolese, and the hermits of Paul the First Monk: and this is something I have no wish to judge about.”³ A large oil painting from the eighteenth century, preserved at the Pauline monastery of Częstochowa, shows Zoerard seated in the hollow of a tree, dressed in the white Pauline habit with a pointed hood.

Although he is visibly equipped with at least two ascetic instruments—the crown with stones and the sharp thorns pointing towards him—he is here a wise and neat old man, who is reading a book with a serene expression on his face. This perception of the Pauline eremitic past was in perfect concordance with its meanwhile development into an order notable for its engagement with education and learning.⁴

¹ See Szilveszter Sólymos, *Szent Zoerard-András (Szórád) és Benedek remeték élete és kultusza Magyarországon* [The life and cult of the hermits St. Zoerard and St. Benedict in Hungary] (Budapest: METEM, 1996) and Richard Pražák, “Nejstarší uherská legenda, ‘Legenda sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti,’ v širších historických a kulturních souvislostech své doby” [The oldest Hungarian legend, ‘Legenda sanctorum Zoerardi et Benedicti,’ in the broader historical and cultural context of its time], *Sborník prací filozofické fakulty brněnské univerzity* C 28 (1981), 207–24.

² *Duo insignes viri, videlicet Zoerardus et Benedictus ex Polonia in regnum Hungariae transeuntes, memorato S. Gerardo accesserunt; quorum primus ex coenobita monasterii Zobor eremita Paulinus in Nitriensi territorio factus...* quoted from AASS Iulii IV, 331.

³ *Andream sanctis suis et Benedictini, et Camaldulenses, et Pauli Primi Religiosi vendicant: nolim iudicem agere.* Quoted in AASS Iulii IV, 330–1.

⁴ For a more detailed discussion of these “adoptive” tendencies, as well as Zoerard’s penitential practices, I would like to refer the reader to my book *Margins of Solitude*, 115–27 and 199–202.

The legend can be undoubtedly dated to the eleventh century, not only for reasons of its stated authorship, but also for its stylistic features and narrative evidence, namely the religious ideal presented in the text.¹ Its text has been preserved in full in five manuscripts and a series of editions printed from the late-fifteenth century onwards. It has also survived in fragments used for liturgical purposes, in a form of lessons in a number of printed and hand-written *breviaria*.

All these witnesses are much later in date than the original work.

The text presented here is based, with only a few minor interventions, on the only modern critical edition of the legend, which is that by Imre Madzsar in the *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum* series.² Madzsar's main text is that of the fifteenth-century Brussels Codex (Bibliotheca Regia, nr. 982), a legendary formerly in the possession of the monastery of Rouge Cloître, which he describes as far superior to the other witnesses. Besides that, he commonly records the readings of two other witnesses, a fifteenth-century manuscript from Bayerische Staatsbibliothek in Munich (Bibliotheca Publica Monacensis, nr. 16024), formerly of the collegiate church of St Nicolaus near Passau (M), and a likewise fifteenth-century legendary from Bibliotheca Mazariniana (nr. 1733), formerly in the possession of a Premonstratensian priory in Corsondonk near Maastricht (L). In our edition, we have occasionally altered the preferred reading, in which cases Madzsar's option has been indicated below the Latin text as *Madz*.

¹ Some of the scholars who have discussed its date include Damján Vargha, Imre Madzsar, János Horváth and Lajos Csóka; cf. Gábor Klaniczay's and Edit Madas's overview "Hagiographies – Hongrie" in *Hagiographies* 2, ed. Guy Philippart (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996), 103–4.

² SRH 2, 357–61.

VITAE SANCTORUM HEREMITARUM
ZOERARDI CONFESSORIS ET BENEDICTI
MARTIRIS A BEATO MAURO EPISCOPO
QUINECCLESIASTENSI DESCRIPTA

THE LIVES OF THE HOLY HERMITS ZOERARD
THE CONFESSOR AND BENEDICT THE
MARTYR, WRITTEN BY THE BLESSED MAURUS,
BISHOP OF PÉCS

VITAE SANCTORUM HEREMITARUM ZOERARDI
CONFESSORIS ET BENEDICTI MARTIRIS
A BEATO MAURO EPISCOPO
QUINECCLESIASTENSI^a DESCRIPTA

1. Tempore, quo sub christianissimi Stephani regis nutu nomen et religio deitatis^b in Pannonia rudis adhuc pullulabat, audita fama boni rectoris multi ex terris^c aliis canonici et monachi ad ipsum quasi ad patrem confluebant, non quidem alicuius causa coacti necessitatis, sed ut novum^d sancte conversationis gaudium ex eorum conventu adimpleretur.¹ Inter quod quidam sancti spiritus instinctu tactus, ex rusticitate quasi rosa ex spinis ortus, nomine Zoerardus hanc in patriam de terra Polonensium advenit² et a Philippo abbate, cuius monasterium Zobor nominatum in Nitriensi territorio ad honorem Sancti Ypoliti martyris situm erat,³ habitu accepto et^e Andreas nominatus eremiticam vitam agere statuit.⁴ Ibique

^a (sic!) recte Quineecclesiensi

^b diuinitatis *M*

^c ex terris] exercitus *M*

^d rectum *M*

^e et *om. M*

¹ Following the baptism of Vajk-Stephen and his acknowledgment by the pope and the emperor, symbolized in the royal *insignia* that were sent to him at the very end of the first millennium, Hungary started upon the course of integration in Christian Europe. This official baptism of the ruler was naturally just the beginning of the long and gradual process of Christianising the population. Nevertheless, its immediate result was the influx of foreign missionaries coming with the purpose of evangelization and also the organisation of the young church, and a number of sources speak of the king's openness towards foreign guests and pilgrims on their way to the Holy Land. Cf. *Vita s. Stephani regis, legenda maior*, 11, SRH 2, 386; *Vita s. Stephani regis, legenda ab Hartwico episcopo conscripta*, 11, SRH 2, 419; Ademar of Chabannes, *Chronicon*, 3, 65, ed. Pascale Bourgain, CCCM 129, 184; Rodulphus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque* 3, 1, 2, ed. John France and Neithard Bulst (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 96.

² See the discussion on Zoerard's origins in the Preface.

THE LIVES OF THE HOLY HERMITS ZOERARD
THE CONFESSOR AND BENEDICT THE MARTYR,
WRITTEN BY THE BLESSED MAURUS,
BISHOP OF PÉCS

1. At the time when under the rule of the most Christian king Stephen the name and the religion of God, though still rude, was spreading in Pannonia, many clerics and monks from other lands, as the fame of the good ruler reached them, flocked to him as to a father, not forced by any necessity, but in order to gain the new joy of the holy way of life from their assembly.¹ Among them, there was a man touched by the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, who had blossomed from rusticity like a rose from among the thorns, and bore the name of Zoerard; he came to this country from the land of the Poles,² and having received the habit from Abbot Philip, whose monastery of Zobor, dedicated to St. Hyppolite the martyr, lay in the territory of Nitra,³ took the name of Andreas and determined to enter upon an eremitic life.⁴ And I have decided to

³ According to Cosmas of Prague (generally considered a rather unreliable source), the monastery of St. Hyppolite at Zobor was founded by Svatopluk before 894 as a foundation of eremitic origin. Cosmas of Prague, *Chronica Bohemorum* 1, 14, MGH SSrG n.s. 2, 33–4. The fact that Maurus does not mention the founder might serve as a dating clue to a period previous to the Hungarian Christian rulers. The first charter mentioning the monastery is from the year 1111. *Codex diplomaticus et epistolaris Slovaciae*, ed. Richard Marsina (Bratislava: Academiae Scientiarum Slovaca, 1971) 1, 63–4. Since it does not mention King Stephen as its founder either, even though it mentions some donations and privileges given to the monastery by him, this might be taken as additional evidence supporting the hypothesis that the foundation took place before his time. Cf. Josef Kútník, “Benedictine Missionaries in Slovakia in the 9th–11th Centuries,” *Slovak Studies* 22 (1982), 79–81. Kútník has argued that Reginhar, bishop of Passau (818–838), used monks from the abbey of St. Pölten for missionary work in Great Moravia. In any case, the patrocinium of St. Hyppolite (Pölten) would have come from Bavaria, similarly to the later cult of St. Emmeram.

⁴ Cf. *Vita s. Stephani regis, legenda ab Hartwico episcopo conscripta*, 7, SRH 2, 411.

quanta contritione cordis et corporis maceratione affligeret, ex relatione sui discipuli beati Benedicti secum conversantis que audivi paucis literis commandare decrevi. Ego quidem Maurus nunc Deo miserante episcopus, tunc autem puer scholasticus virum bonum vidi, sed que esset eius conversatio, non visu, sed auditu percepi. Ad nostrum ergo monasterium in honorem beati pontificis Martini consecratum¹ cum iam dictus monachus Benedictus sepe venisset, mihi hec, que sequuntur, de eius vita venerabili narravit.

2. Postquam idem venerabilis^a vir Andreas heremi solitudinem subintravit, magna corporis defatigatione^b, spiritualis autem vite corroboratione ieiunium semper observavit^c. Tribus diebus ab omni re, que mandi potest, abstinuit pro dilectione gracie ipsius, qui propter homines homo factus quadraginta diebus ieiunavit. Cum autem quadragesimale tempus adveniret, exemplum^d vite regularis, sub qua Zozimas abbas degebat, ubi quadraginta quinque^e dactylis quisque^f quadragesimam deduxit, ipse a patre Phylippo, a quo habitum religionis^g perceperat, quadraginta nuces accepit et eo existens^h victu contentus diem sancte resurrectionis cum gaudio exspectavit.² Eisdem vero et aliis diebus, licet esus ad corpus refocillandum non solum nonⁱ sufficeret, verum etiam spiritum ipsum ad defectum^j perduceret, ipse tamen excepto^k tempore orationis nunquam a la-

^a venerabilis] beatus *ML*

^b castigatione *M*

^c obseuabat *M*

^d adexemplum *M*

^e quinque *om. M*

^f quibus *M*

^g religionis *om. ML*

^h existens *om. M*

ⁱ non *om. M*

^j ad defectum] ad effectum *M*

^k excepto *om. M*

¹ Monastery of St Martin at Pannonhalma or Sacer Mons Pannoniae, of which Maurus was an abbot before he was appointed to the episcopal see of Pécs.

give a brief account of the contrition of heart and torment of the body Andrew-Zoerard inflicted upon himself, from what I heard in conversation with his disciple, the blessed Benedict, who had kept company with him. I myself, Maurus, who am now a bishop by God's mercy, but was at that time a young pupil, beheld the good man, but what I have learnt about his way of life I know by hearing, not by seeing. For the aforementioned monk Benedict often came to our monastery dedicated to the blessed Bishop Martin,¹ and the following is what he told me about the hermit's venerable life.

2. After the venerable man Andrew entered the solitude of the desert, he always observed the practice of fasting until he achieved great exhaustion of the body, but also fortification of the life of the spirit. On three days he used to abstain from anything that may be eaten, out of love for the grace of Him who, having become man for the sake of humanity, fasted for forty days. And when the season of Lent came, he followed the example of the rule under which *abba* Zosimas lived, whereby each monk took forty-five dates for Lent; and thus he was given forty nuts by *abba* Philip, from whom he had received the monastic habit, and living contentedly on those provisions, he awaited with joy the day of the holy Resurrection.² On those and other days, although such meager food that he ate was not only insufficient to invigorate the body, but also brought his very spirit to falter, he never ceased from his labor, except at prayer times, but used to take his axe and go into a solitary part of the forest in order to work. One day, as he lay there half-dead, his body and spirit failing him because of excessive work and the rigors of

² *Abba* Zosimas appears as the crucial side character in the legend of saint Mary the Egyptian and Zoerard's modelling on his practice has been taken as one of the proofs of the Oriental character of the Zobor monastery. It is interesting that Zoerard's fasting was modified with respect to geographical circumstances: he ate nuts instead of dates. It has been pointed out that Zoerard took the entire quantity of nuts at the same time from the abbot, even though his hermitage was in the vicinity of the monastery and even though he joined the liturgy of the community on Saturdays and Sundays. Obviously, the reason lies in his effort to conform as much as possible to his model and create for himself the appearance of the *panéremos*. Cf. Józef Tadeusz Miłlik, *Święty Świerad. Saint Andrew Zoerardus* (Rome: Edizioni Hosianum, 1966), 73.

bore cessavit, sed accepta securi quendam laboraturus^a silve locum solitarium subintravit. Ubi cum pre nimio labore et ieiunii distictione corpore et spiritu deficiente quadam die premortuus iaceret, quidam iuvenis pulcherrimus aspectu et visionis angelice advenit et superpositum^b vehiculo ad cellam suam perduxit. At extasi, in qua erat, delapsa postquam ad se reversus quid erga eum Dei misericordia egerit, agnovisset, supradicto discipulo suo Benedicto, qui mihi hec narravit, professus est eadem^c, constringens eum iuramento, ne ante diem obitus sui nota cuiquam faceret. Post laborem autem diurnum corpori quietem nocturnam talem adhibuit, que magis tormenti et afflictionis, quam requiei nomen habere potuit. Planatum equidem truncum quercinum sepe circumdedit et per ipsum sepe arundines acutas ex omni parte infixit. Ipse vero in trunco sedens tali sessorio usus est artuum recreacione^d, ut si forte corpus sopore gravatum qualemcunque se in partem flecteret, harundinum acie sauciatum graviter evigilaret. Insuper et ex ligno coronam factam capiti suo circumponebat, ad quam quatuor in partibus quatour lapides suspendebat, ut si caput sopitum quocumque inclinaret, lapide percuteretur. O beati^e viri Andree merces, quam beata et eterna vita^f, corona cencies^g ornata, que in celo recompensat, quod in terra^h graviter emptumⁱ fuerat! O inauditum genus confessionis, quod pretiosius facit regnum promissionis! Non cibus, non requies auferre^j potuit dulcedine vana vitam eternitatis et nequam^k spiritus aditum invenire nequivit deceptionis.

Hec, que inserta^l sunt, discipulo suo iam dicto Benedicto referente^m cognovi, qui et ipse patre⁷ suo defunctoⁿ locum eundem^o

^a laborantem *M*

^b superposito *M*

^c professus est eadem] eadem prouisus est *M*

^d reiteratione *Madz.*

^e boni *M*

^f beata et eterna vita *om. M*

^g coccinis *M*

^h in terra *om. M*

fasting, a youth came to him most beautiful in appearance and angelic in likeness, who placed him on a cart and brought him to his cell. When the ecstasy he was in was over and he came to his senses, he realized what God's mercy had done for him; and he revealed all this to his abovementioned disciple Benedict (who told the story to me), binding him by an oath that he should not make it known to anyone before the day of his death. Moreover, after his daily work, he subjected his body to such nocturnal repose as should rather be called torment and affliction than rest. Around a leveled stump of an oak he constructed an enclosure, through which he fixed sharp canes from all sides. Then he would sit on the stump, using it as a seat to rest his limbs in such a posture that if his body, overcome by sleep, should perchance incline in any direction, he would be painfully pierced by those sharp canes and woken up. Moreover, he used to place on his head a crown made of wood, to which he attached four stones hanging on four sides, so that if his head bowed in any direction in sleep, it would be struck by a stone. Ah, what reward there is for this blessed man Andrew, what a blessed and eternal life, adorned a hundredfold by the crown that recompenses in heaven what was painfully earned on earth! Ah, what an unparalleled way of confessing faith, and how much more precious it makes the promised kingdom! Neither food nor repose could by their vain delight rob him of eternal life, and there was no way a wicked spirit could find a path to deceive him.

These things that I have told I heard from his disciple Benedict (whom I have mentioned), who chose after his teacher's death⁷

ⁱ emptura *M*

^j requies auferre] requies et sanctis viris auferre *M*

^k requiem *M*

^l insita uel in sarta *M*

^m reueniente *M*

ⁿ de *Madz.*

^o locum eundem] loci eiusdem desertum *M*: locum eundem desertum *L*

⁷ Literally: his father's death.

inhabitare decrevit. Cumque^a per tres annos exemplo magistri districtae vitam ageret, latrones supervenientes et multam apud ipsum pecuniam esse sperantes ductum ad ripam fluminis Wag¹ iugulaverunt et in ipsam aquam dimerserunt.² Diu vero corpore ipsius quesito et non invento per integrum annum visa est aquila in ripa fluminis Wag^b quasi quedam observatura sedere, per quam de corpore certi effecti, quemdam aquis intromergi fecerunt et sic integrum^c quasi nuper obiisset, invenerunt. Positus autem est ibidem^d Benedictus in basilica beati Emerammi^e martiris,³ in eadem sepultura, in qua pausabant ossa beati Andree sancti patris, qui mihi de eodem venerabili omnia^f, que scripsi iam, retulit. Sed que sequuntur Philippus abbas mihi^g abbati constituto^h enarrare consuevit.

3. Cum igitur tempus resolutionis sui corporis immineret, indicans eis hoc, qui aderant, ne ab ullo vestimentorum suorumⁱ exueretur operimento^j, precepit, donec abbas Philippus, post quem miserat, adveniret. Qui pater adveniens ubi corpus venerabile iam mortuum iacebat^k lavandum^l, cathenam eream^m visceraⁿ attingentem invenit. O mira res et inaudita! Cathena carnes intus putrefaciens

^a ubi cum *M*

^b iugulaverunt – fluminis Wag *om. M*

^c uel incorruptum *add. M*

^d ibidem *om. M*

^e Hyemerani *L*

^f de eodem venerabili omnia] de eadem heremitica omnia *M*: de eadem beato heremita omnia *L*

^g mihi iam *add. M*

^h *om. M*

ⁱ vestimentorum suorum] *vestmentis suis M*

^j operimento *om. M*

^k iacebat *om. M*

^l lavandum exuit *add. ML*

^m eneam *M*

ⁿ viscera iam *add. Madz.*

to inhabit the same place himself. But after he had lived there austere for three years, following the example of his master, some robbers came; and expecting that he would possess a great treasure, they led him to the banks of the river Vah,¹ murdered him, and dropped his body into its waters.² While for long people searched for his body and could not find it, an eagle was observed sitting for an entire year on the banks of the river Vah, as if it were intending to watch over something. Having thus ascertained that the body was there, they sent a man to dive into the river; and thus they found it, as incorrupt as if he had died shortly before. And he was likewise laid to rest in the basilica of the blessed martyr Emmeram,³ in the same tomb in which the remains of the holy father Andrew rested. It was Benedict who told me all that I have written so far about that venerable man. But what follows next Abbot Philip told me, after I was appointed abbot myself.

3. As the time of his death was approaching, Andrew-Zoerard made this known to those who were present, and told them that they should not remove any piece of clothing that covered his body before the arrival of Abbot Philip, whom he had already sent for. As *abba* arrived in the place where the body of the venerable man, now dead, lay waiting to be washed, he discovered that a metal chain was squeezing the entrails. Ah, what a wondrous and incredible thing! The chain was causing the flesh to fester inside, though outside the skin had closed over it. But this manner

¹ The monastery of St. Hyppolitus at Zobor may have possessed some land on the banks of the river as early as in the times of St. Stephen, since Zoerard would have obviously settled on monastic property, but it is attested only from the times of King Coloman, in a charter from 1113. Cf. V. Fejérpataky, *Kálmán király oklevelei: Diplomata regis Colomani* (Budapest, 1892), 55.

² Hagiography of the period often describes how hermits were murdered by robbers hoping to find in their cells treasures that pious people were donating to them. Cf. my article "Hermits Murdered by Robbers: The Construction of Martyrdom in Ottonian Hagiography," *Annual of the Department of Medieval Studies at Central European University* 6 (2000), 9–21.

³ St Emmeram's cathedral in Nitra.

cute^a foris est obducta. Sed nesciri hoc genus martyrii posset, nisi ad umbilicum ligati nodus^b appareret metalli. Soluta vero cathena dum ex corpore trahitur, sonus costarum elisarum graviter auditur. Cuius cathene partem mediam ab eodem abbate impetravi^c et usque nunc custoditam^d petitioni ducis christianissimi Gayse^e cum^f desiderio mihi pro ea instanti negare nequivi.¹ Sepultoque beati digna esse videbantur, memoria notavi^g. Tempore quodam latrones, quorum collegia maxima ex parte solitudinem inhabitant, in silva congressi sunt. Quibus^h confligentibus unumⁱ eorum multum sauciarant^j. Conflictu dirempto cum hunc socii vulneratum nequaquam in silva dimittere voluissent, consilio inito ad cellam superius dicti viri^k Andree, cuius fama omnes circumquaque attigit, eum deferre statuerunt. Sed cum adhuc locus longe hinc abesset, latro in via defunctus^l est. Corpore vero eius ad cellam deportato et in eadem posito, media iam nocte, cum ossa commendare vel lent humo, subito spiritu reverso iam mortuus resurgere cepit. Illis autem, qui aderant, valde perterritis et pre pavore fugientibus resuscitatus^m ille revocabatⁿ eos dicens: "Nolite fratres formidare, nimirum nequaquam reticere volui^o quod eodem Philippo abbate narrante cognovi. In civitate Nitria quidam reus damnatus suspensus est. Qui post solutus Dei misericordia ad abbatemed ibi

^a tuta *M*

^b nudus *M*

^c impetratam *ML*

^d custodiam *M*

^e heisse *M*

^f omni *M*

^g Sepultoque – notavi *om. M*

^h quibus diu *add. M*

ⁱ unus *M*

^j saciatus *M*

^k superius dicti viri] supradicti beati viri *M*

^l mortuus *M*

of martyrdom might have gone unnoticed, had a knot joining the metal not been visible at the navel. As the chain was unfastened and drawn out of the body, the heavy sound of snapping ribs was heard. I asked the abbot for the middle part of the chain and kept it until now, when I could not deny the request of the most Christian duke Géza, who had been pressing me with his heartfelt wish to have it.¹ After the body of the blessed man had been buried, I noted down from memory what Abbot Philip had revealed to me and what appeared to me worthy to be known. At some time, robbers, whose companies mostly inhabit solitary places, met in strife in the forest. As they fought, one of them was severely wounded. When the clash was over, the companions of the wounded man by no means wanted to leave him in the forest and, after deliberation, decided to take him to the cell of the aforementioned man Andrew, whose fame had reached all persons thereabout. But the robber died on the way when that place was still at a far distance. Nevertheless, they brought his body to the cell and laid it inside. It was now the middle of the night and they wanted to commend his remains to the earth, when suddenly his spirit returned to his body and the dead man began to come back to life. Those who were present were terrified and began to flee in panic, but the resuscitated man called them back, saying: "Do not fear or flee, brothers, for Saint Zoerard has raised me from death to life!" And as they wept for joy and called on him to depart with them, he told them that he would never leave the cell, but would stay there and serve God

^m resuscitans *M*

ⁿ reuocat *M*

^o Zeorardus *M*

¹ In 1064, Bishop Maurus presented a piece of Zoerard's penitential chain to Prince Géza on the occasion of the latter's Easter visit to Pécs together with his brother Ladislav and King Solomon. Upon becoming a king himself, Ladislav aptly used the canonization of the first five Hungarian saints, among them Zoerard and Benedict, to reassert his divine right to the throne. Cf. Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses. Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 123–7.

in perpetuum Deo et sancto Zoerardo servitutum^a. Fecit itaque, quod promisit et usque ad obitum suum ibi permansit.

4. Aliud quoque eius miraculum nequaquam reticere volui^b, quod eodem^c Philippo abbate narrante cognovi. In civitate Nitria^d quidam reus damnatus suspensus est. Qui post^e solutus Dei misericordia ad abbatem venit Philippum et qualiter per merita beati viri Andree liberatus esset, indicavit. Dixit enim, quod cum damnatus esset, semper nomen ipsius implorasset et cum sublevaretur in patibulum, statim manibus suis beatus vir Andreas eum sustentaverit^f. At illi cum eum omnes mortuum putantes domum^g reverterentur, ipse eum manu sua solutum abire permisit. O qualis meriti vir ante Deum, qui visibilis apparens homines solvat^h, cum invisibilis inter angelorum choros locum possideat.ⁱ – Expliciunt^j actus sanctorum Zoerardi seu Andree confessoris et Benedicti martiris a beato Mauro Quinqueecclesiastensi episcopo breviter comprehensi.

^a sed ibi – servitutum *om. M*

^b nequaquam reticere volui] recitare nolui nequaquam *M*

^c eodem modo *add. L*

^d Nyttara *M*

^e pena *M*

and Saint Zoerard ever after. He did as he promised, and remained there until his death.

4. There is another miracle of his that I by no means wanted to keep silent about, and which I was also informed of through the account of Abbot Philip. In the city of Nitra, a man had been brought to trial, sentenced, and hanged. But subsequently he was released by God's mercy, and he went to Abbot Philip to tell him how he had been liberated by the merits of the blessed man Andrew. He said, namely, that after he had been sentenced, he repeatedly invoked his name; and when they hoisted him on the gallows, the blessed man Andrew at once sustained him with his own hands. And when they all thought him dead and returned home, he personally unbound him and let him go. Ah, what merit that man has before God, who visibly appears and unbinds men, while invisible he occupies a place among the choirs of angels.

Here end the deeds of Saint Zoerard or Andrew the confessor and of Saint Benedict the martyr, as briefly compiled by the blessed Maurus, bishop of Pécs.

^f suscitauit *M*

^g domum *om. M*

^h saluat *M*

ⁱ Tu autem Omnia stella maris succurre nobis miseris in hac lacrimarum ualle *add. M*

^j Expliciuunt – comprehensi *deest in ML*



Fig 7. St. Benedict the Martyr. Engraving by Johann Jacob Hoffmann from Gábor Hevenesi SJ., *Régi magyar szentség - Ungariae sanctitatis indicia*, (Trnaviae, 1692).

THE DEEDS OF BLESSED
GAUDENTIUS, BISHOP OF OSOR



Fig. 8. Bishop Gaudenzius of Osor. Engraving in Daniele Farlati SJ,
Illyricum Sacrum (Venice, 1775).

PREFACE

ZRINKA NIKOLIĆ

The main source for the life of St. Gaudentius, bishop of Osor (It. Ossero) on the island of Cres (It. Cherso),¹ is his *vita*, composed by an anonymous monk who reports that he, along with other brethren, personally listened to the saint telling his life-story during his last years which he spent in the monastery of St. Mary Portus Novi (Portonovo) nearby Ancona. It must have been written sometime in the middle or even in the second half of the eleventh century, since the author, perhaps in a later addition, also recorded some posthumous miracles of the saint which occurred on the Calends of June, probably in 1044. That *vita* was found in the town of Cres in 1714 by a Jesuit scholar, Filippo Riceputi (1667–1743), while he was searching for documents for his *Museum Illyricum*—a collection of sources for a grand project on the history of the Church in the territory of ancient Illyricum, entitled *Illyricum sacrum*.² Riceputi managed with great difficulty to transcribe, from the old and badly damaged parchment, the text written in Latin script, according to him probably in an eleventh-century hand. Afterwards, the original and one copy, wrapped together in silk and dec-

¹ The city of Osor (present-day Croatia) has been an episcopal see since the sixth century at least. The diocese of Osor consisted of two islands—the larger Cres, and the smaller Lošinj (It. Lussino), which was then still mainly uninhabited. The islands were separated by an artificially built canal but were at that time still mostly treated as one island under the name of Osor, although to make things more complicated, the name Osor was sometimes used only for Lošinj. The city of Osor itself was situated by the canal on the Cres side.

² The project was finally brought to completion by Riceputi's assistant, Daniele Farlati (1690–1773), under whose authorship it is nowadays known: *Illyricum sacrum*, 8 vols. (Venice: Sebastian Coleti, 1751–1819). The last three volumes were edited by Jacopo Coleti. Later, Frane Bulić published *Accessiones et correctiones all'Illyricum sacrum del P.D. Farlatti di P.G. Coleti*, in *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, suppl. (Split, 1902–1909). See Josip Lučić, "Farlati," in *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastique* 16 (Paris, 1984), cols. 581–94.

orated with golden and silver ornaments, were placed besides the saint's body in the new marble sanctuary in the cathedral of Osor, and its later fate is unknown.¹

Filippo Riceputi included the transcription of the *vita* of the saint in his planned biography of St. Gaudentius—*Sancti Gaudentii Episcopi Acta*. However, it remained unpublished and is nowadays preserved in the library of the Archaeological Museum in Split.² Riceputi's work on Gaudentius was subsequently used by John Joseph Paulovich Lucich, a canon from Makarska, in his dissertation on Gaudentius in which he also published the *vita*.³ The first published edition of the source, based on Riceputi's transcription, was done by Daniele Farlati in the fifth volume of the *Illyricum sacrum*, which contained the history of archbishops of Zadar and their suffragan bishops, among whom were also the bishops of Osor.⁴ Farlati's edition was used by Franjo Rački in his collection of early medieval Croatian sources in the series of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, and this is still the most used, standard publication of the source.⁵

Besides the *vita*, some additional information about the saint not contained in the *vita* are supplied by another personal witness who, as he said, "deserved the sweetness of his acquaintance"—St. Peter Damian. He used Gaudentius in his two letters as an example of the apology of bishops who renounced at

¹ Lucich, *Acta*, 27. The casket was opened at the end of World War II, when it was temporarily transferred to Ustrine (a small village on the western coast on the island of Cres). A roll of six parchments wrapped in leather, containing among other things the *vita* of Gaudentius, was found inside. Branko Fučić, "Izveštaj o putu po otocima Cresu i Lošinj" [Report of a journey across the islands of Cres and Lošinj], *Ljetopis Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti* 55 (1949): 40.

² MS 1728.

³ Joannes Joseph Paulovich Lucich, *Acta sincera Gaudentii Auxerensis Episcopi et confessoris dissertationibus historicis illustrata* (Venice, 1802).

⁴ *Illyricum Sacrum* (Venice: Sebastian Coleti, 1775), 5: 185–94.

⁵ Franjo Rački, ed. *Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 7 (Zagreb: Sumptibus Academiae scientiarum et artium, 1877), doc. 219, pp. 439–42.

their office in preference to the more secluded spiritual calling as monks. The first of these letters was written probably ca. 1058 and addressed to the bishop of Florence, Gerhard (the future pope Nicholas II), and Hildebrand (the future pope Gregory VII). It served as a model for another letter dated 1059–1061 addressed again to Gerhard, now already Pope Nicholas II, as a supplication to free the author from his church office in order to take up the monastic way of life.¹

Some pages were dedicated to Gaudentius in *Annales Camaldulenses*, the history of the Camaldolese order written and published in the period from 1755–73 by Nicola Giacomo Mitarelli and Giovanni Domenico Costadoni.² They accepted Gaudentius as a member of the Camaldolese order and linked him to St. Romuald, although none of the original sources states this. However, probably due to the fact that the monastery of St. Mary of Portus Novi introduced reforms to the Benedictine monastery in Osor, in the Quarnero islands Gaudentius was viewed primarily as an eremitic figure, and as such is still venerated today. The authors of *Illyricum sacrum* reported a rich oral tradition which connected the saint's memory with various local landmarks, such as the nowadays abandoned village of Mali Tržić, his presumed birthplace, and a small cave in the Mount Osorščica in the northern part of Lošinj, which has a view over Osor, where he allegedly lived before his episcopal election. The cave still exists, but by the time the *Illyricum sacrum* was written, the "bath of saint Gaudentius," a small lake, had already been drained. The most popular aspect of his cult is the belief that he expelled all poisonous snakes from the islands of Cres and Lošinj, an otherwise still unexplained phenomenon, since other islands close by, such as Krk, and the nearby peninsula of Istria are not free of them. It was believed that if poisonous animals were carried to the island, they would die as soon as they touched the ground. The stones and earth of Osor were believed

¹ *Epistulae* 57 and 72, ed. Kurt Reindel, in *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, MGH, Die Briefe der Deutschen Kaiserzeit (Munich, 1988), 171–2, 330.

² *Annales Camaldulenses* (9 vols, Venice: 1555–1573).

to retain this power even if carried elsewhere, and allegedly helped the Jesuits of Rijeka in 1690 to get rid of vipers in their garden. For this reason, until the present day stones from his cave have been kept by seamen and the local people as protection from the bites of vipers. The saint's iconography always includes dying vipers under his feet.¹

After discovering the *vita*, Riceputi, as mentioned above, planned to write a biography of Gaudentius under the title *Sancti Gaudentii Episcopi Acta*, having collected information on the liturgy and the popular cult of the saint as well as having constructed theories about his family origin and early life. Despite several attempts, he never managed to finalize this project. The huge manuscript with draft versions is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of Split, where it arrived as a part of the legacy of a canon from Makarska, John Joseph Paulovich Lucich (1755–1818), who was also a translator, archaeologist, and epigrapher, and who had himself obtained it from the final editor of *Illyricum sacrum*, Jacopo Coleti. Relying heavily on Riceputi's biography, Lucich published a much condensed *Acta* in the beginning of the nineteenth century.² Thereafter, data on Gaudentius have until recently interested authors primarily as a source from which arguments can be drawn for certain historical phenomena of the area, for example regarding the practice of consanguineous marriage in small communities in Dalmatia, which was one of the main issues for the local Church in the time of the Gregorian reform.³ Peter Damian's assertion that Gaudentius came from the "Slavic kingdom"

¹ *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 5, 193–4; Branko Fučić, *Apsyrtydes* (Mali Lošinj: Narodno sveučilište, 1990; 2nd enlarged ed. Mali Lošinj: Turistička zajednica Mali Lošinj, 1995), 125; idem, *Terra incognita* (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1997), 92.

² *Acta sincera Sancti Gaudentii Auxerensis Episcopi et confessoris dissertationibus historicis illustrata*, 35 pp.

³ Zrinka Nikolić, *Rođaci i bližnji: Dalmatinsko gradsko plemstvo u ranom srednjem vijeku* [Kith and kin: Dalmatian urban nobility in the Central Middle Ages] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2003), 48–50, 96–8.

led Lujo Margetić to challenge the more or less accepted view in Croatian historiography that Osor was not under the rule of the Croatian royal dynasty before the later years of the reign of King Peter Krešimir IV (1058–1074). He argued that Gaudentius's exile from Osor was one of the consequences of the conflict between pro- and anti-Byzantine branches of the Croatian royal dynasty.¹ Gaudentius and his alleged connection to St. Romuald mentioned in the *Annales Camaldulenses* have also been cited by art historians, especially Miljenko Jurković, to explain relations between the architectural structures of monastic buildings in Istria and Osor.² In 1990, in the only twentieth-century study dedicated exclusively to the saint, Stefano Zucchi attempted a "critical-biographical survey," although without much criticism of the sources, and omitting Croatian historiography on the topic.³ However, in the beginning of the next century, Gaudentius finally won new and appropriate scholarly attention in the critical hagiographical study within the broader regional context in the work of Marina Miladinov.⁴

¹ Lujo Margetić, "O nekim vrelima hrvatske povijesti XI. stoljeća (s osobitim obzirom na Osor)" [About some sources on Croatian history from the eleventh century (especially regarding Osor)], *Historijski zbornik* 42 (1989): 111–35, esp. 116–8; idem, "Iz starije hrvatske povijesti" [From older Croatian history], *Radovi Zavoda povijesnih znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 43 (2001): 5–6; idem, "Dobronja—zadarski dužnosnik ili hrvatski kralj" [Dobronja—a Zaratian official or a Croatian king?], *Croatica Christiana Periodica* 58 (2006): 1–52, esp. 3–12, 38–41.

² Miljenko Jurković, "Monumentalni pejzaž Hrvatske u 11. stoljeću [The monumental landscape of Croatia in the eleventh century], in *Starohrvatska spomenička baština. Radanje hrvatskog monumentalnog pejzaža* [Old Croatian monumental heritage: the birth of the Croatian monumental landscape], ed. Miljenko Jurković and Tugomir Lukšić (Zagreb: Odsjek za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1996), 165–82, esp. 169; idem, "L'Architecture du premier âge Roman in Croatie," *Hortus Artium Medievalium* 6 (2000): 83–92.

³ "Fonti e studi sul vescovo Gaudenzio di Ossero. Bilancio critico-bibliografico," *Atti del Centro di ricerche storiche di Rovigno* 20 (1990): 351–80.

⁴ Marina Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude: Eremitism in Central Europe between East and West* (Zagreb: Leykam International, 2008), 142–55. The following is a preliminary study to the same: Marina Miladinov and Zrinka Nikolić, "Svetac i zmija" [A saint and a snake], *Hrvatska revija* 2/1 (2002): 59–64.

The *vita* does not give much detail about Gaudentius's life before the event that caused the change that led him to embrace the monastic way of life, except that he was by origin from Osor where he later became bishop, which would have taken place sometime after 1018, since in this year his predecessor Martin is still mentioned and a bishop had to be at least thirty to be consecrated.¹ From the rule of the Byzantine emperor Basilus I (867–886), Osor was part of the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia, which was composed of several coastal cities—Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik and Kotor—as well as the northern islands of Krk, Rab and Osor (Cres and Lošinj). At the beginning of the eleventh century the Dalmatian cities accepted the rule of the Venetian doge Peter II Orseolo in the course of his victorious campaign along the eastern Adriatic coast. However, it seems that this rule was effective only on the northern islands, where in 1018 the citizens recognised his son Otto Orseolo as their overlord and promised to pay tribute. It may have lasted till the end of the rule of Orseolo in Venice although nothing is certain. By the 1060s and the rule of the Croatian king Peter Krešimir IV (1058–1074), Dalmatia, including the northern islands, must have already been under the rule of the kings from the Croatian dynasty of the Trpimirovići, who bore the title of Kings of the Croats and the Dalmatians, or Kings of Croatia and Dalmatia.² Gaudentius's *vita* mentions that he “derived his illustrious origins ... from that nation of Osorans,” although without any further details about the saint's family. A local tradition written down by Riceputi connected a local family from Cres—Godetivić/Gaudentivić—with the noble Gaudenzii, but by the eighteenth century their noble status had been reduced to poverty. A noble family from Split, Gaudentia/Radovčić, also claimed descent from the kindred of St. Gaudentius. Riceputi elaborated a theory that Gaudentius belonged to the

¹ Jakov Štapišić and Miljen Šamšalović, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1 (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1967), doc. 40, p. 57.

² Or according to Margetić, perhaps even earlier. See p. 345, n. 1.

family of Pincius, by origin a member of a royal Bulgarian family, who had to leave with his brothers, sister, and children when their cousin Šišman forcefully obtained power and murdered the legitimate Bulgarian ruler. Although nothing is known about Gaudentius's parents and siblings, Riceputi presents them as noble and pious people who founded several Benedictine monasteries on the archipelago of Osor: St. Peter at Osor, the female monastery of St. Mary of Grace at Osor, and St. Michael on the island of Susak (It. Sansigo). He presented Gaudentius's predecessor on the see of Osor, Martin, as his brother, and yet another of his brothers, Liberius, likewise a hermit, as accompanying Gaudentius on his flight to Ancona.¹ A later Camaldolese tradition ascribed the foundation of several other monasteries on the island of Lošinj to Gaudentius—a monastery at Nerezine (later under the name of St. Francis), St. Laurentius between Osor and Nerezine, Our Lady of Angels in Bijar, and the monastery of Mount Garbo (perhaps the same as Mount Osor). The foundation of several other smaller hermitages and chapels of hermits was ascribed to Gaudentius and his family. However, archaeology has so far not demonstrated any foundation for this tradition.

Equally uncertain is the story of Gaudentius's translation. The chest with his relics came floating to a shore near Osor, was discovered by the inhabitants three years later, and was then carried solemnly to the city. The authors of *Illyricum sacrum* supposed that the relics could have in reality come to Osor during the war between Zadar and Ancona in the middle of the thirteenth century. More precisely, this conflict was between Venice and Byzantium, whose ally Ancona was, while Zadar was under the Venetian rule at the time. When the Anconitan area was seized in 1172, the monks of St. Mary Portus Novi fled from Portonovo to Ancona, and it is possible that the relics were then taken from their original location. As for their presence in Osor, according to the tradition, the body was first kept in the Benedictine monastery of St. Peter,

¹ Riceputi, 113–6; Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*, 149–50.

allegedly Gaudentius's foundation, and then after the monastery was abandoned in the fourteenth century, they were transferred to the cathedral. This area of the city was later abandoned as the city grew smaller, and a new cathedral was built. Until its completion, the relics were kept in a small oratory. They were translated to the main altar of the new cathedral in 1577, and finally deposited in the Baroque marble chest in 1713, where they have remained until the present day.¹

¹ *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 5, 191; Miladinov, *Margins of Solitude*, 145–7.

BEATI GAUDENTII IN ABSARENSI
EPISCOPATU GESTA



THE DEEDS OF BLESSED GAUDENTIUS,
BISHOP OF OSOR

BEATI GAUDENTII IN ABSARENSI EPISCOPATU GESTA

Refulgente gratia individuae trinitatis lux nova terris affulsit; illa scilicet lux, quae illuminat omnem hominem venientem in hunc mundum. Plures vero mortalium, ut suorum oculorum velamina deponerent, ad huius claritatis gaudia, agonizando contra labentis temporis temptationes, venire disposuerunt. Quorum Abel primus, iustus, recte dividendo et offerendo bravium coeleste arripuit.¹ Deinde Noë, perfectus et simplex, lingua tacendo et iustitiam personando aquam personuit imminere filiis hominum; ipse vero in iustitia sua fluctus superantis aquae superavit, in libro quoque vitae adscriptus est.² Abraham vero, in cuius obedientia neminem aequipollentem invenit, scriptura sacra testante de eo, voluisse pro holocausto deo mactare filium; ideoque facta sibi promissio, quod in semine suo, id est in Christo, ut apostolus explicavit, haereditatae essent gentes, in numero prophetarum inventus est primus.³ Eximiusque prophetarum David, quamvis sanguineus vir atque adulterinam caedem sortitus est,⁴ tandem poenitudinis magister factus, caeteris mortalibus exemplum et modum praebens poenitentiae in psalmo L,⁵ inter prophetas non modicam in regno coelorum habitat domum. Vel brevissime, ut ad materiam redeamus, idem ipse filius dei, qui dicitur Christus, et est lux vera illuminans, sic enim de se ipso ait: *Ego sum lux mundi*,⁶ non per creaturam aliquam sed per semet ipsum, indutus carne in sacratissima virgine, locutus est nobis deus dicens: *Venite ad me omnes, qui laboratis et ego vos requiescere faciam*.⁷

¹ Cf. Gen. 4.

² Cf. Gen. 6–9; 1 Pet. 3: 20.

³ Cf. Gal. 3: 6; Gen. 22: 15–17.

⁴ Cf. 2 Sam. 11: 1–27.

⁵ The author follows the early medieval tradition, according to which all Psalms were written by David.

THE DEEDS OF BLESSED GAUDENTIUS,
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Through the resplendent grace of the undivided Trinity, a new light shone upon the earth; namely, that light which illuminates each person coming into this world. And many mortals, in order that they might cast away veils from their eyes, decided to come to the joys of that splendor, struggling against the temptations of the transient times. Among them, the first one was Abel, who was just and acquired the heavenly award by rightly dividing and bestowing.¹ Then there was Noah, perfect and simple, silent of tongue but making justice resound, who announced the flood that threatened the human race; whereas he, in his justice, surmounted the flow of mounting water and is also inscribed in the book of life.² And Abraham, whom nobody equaled in obedience, as the Holy Scripture testifies, and who was willing to slay his son as a sacrifice to God; therefore, he was given a promise that in his seed—that is, in Christ, as the Apostle explained—all nations would partake, and he can be found as the first among the prophets.³ And David, foremost among the prophets, who, even though he was a hot-tempered man and his lot was murderous adultery,⁴ nevertheless became a teacher of contrition, offering an example and a way of penitence to other mortals in Psalm 50⁵; he occupies a noteworthy dwelling among the prophets in the heavenly kingdom. Or most briefly in order that we return to our topic: the very son of God, whose name is Christ and who is the true illuminating light—for so he says about himself: *I am the light of the world*⁶—not through some creation, but through himself took flesh in the most holy Virgin; and as God spoke to us saying: *Come to me all you that labor and I will refresh you.*⁷

⁶ John 8: 12.

⁷ Matt. 11: 28.

Ad cuius vocem multi, divino spiritu opitulante, acurrere studuerunt, ex quibus unus ex innumerabilibus factus Absarensis episcopus, Gaudentius nomine, qui tanquam in aethere astra et inter astra lucifer rutilo colore suo revolvitur orbe, sic in domo dei, ubi congaudent angelorum agmina, clara fruitur aeterna luce. Dumque occasio ipsa (se) praebet, de nomine tanti pontificis ac insulae iam dictae, licet faciam de vita et moribus nec non et obitus beati viri digressionem, tamen ad aedificationem legentium aliquid exponere non pigritemus.

Absarensis insula quadam similitudine axis interpretatur.¹ Sicut enim axis pondus secum totum portat, sic etiam quidquid lucris ex labore deferentium sive pondere consequitur, haec insula reportat. Et sicut axis firmamenti plastrum coeleste indeficienter revolvit, sic etiam insula, quae Absarum dicitur, olim florebat virorum pulchritudine; et inter alias Dalmatinas insulas in rerum opulentia locuplete eructare cuncta solebat.

Gaudentius vero pontifex, qui non solum ex ea natione Absarensum praeclaram originem duxit, verum etiam supernae civitatis gaudentium (inde gaudendo) praeclara origine angelorum, evulsa origine primae matris Evae, gaudere concupivit, qui postea ex rei eventu in subscribendis legentium sive audientium cordibus mirifice patebit.

Nunc vero ad ea, quae beatus vir, sanctus Gaudentius, passus est in vita sua per eius humilitatem, scriptoris stylus vertatur.

¹ Variants of the name were Ossero, Apsoros, Absarum, Apsorum, and Auxerum, while ancient Greek sources applied the term Apsyrtides to the archipelagos of Cres (Cherso) and Lošinj (Lussino). The name derives from the Greek mythology: after Medea obtained the Golden Fleece and fled together with Jason, her brother pursued them, but was killed. Medea cut her brother's body in small pieces and threw them into the sea, whence sprang up the islands of the archipelagos. In this obscure simile, the author must have had in mind the similarity between the words *Apsyrtides* and

And to his call many were eager to run, the Holy Ghost assisting them; and among countless others, there was the bishop of Osor, by the name of Gaudentius; who, like the stars in the firmament and the morning-star in its golden red color revolving in their orbits, enjoys splendid and eternal light in the house of God, where hosts of angels rejoice with him. But since the occasion offers itself, we will not neglect to relate, for the readers' edification, something about the name of this distinguished bishop and the mentioned island, although I will be digressing from the life, the customs and the death of this blessed man.

The island of Osor has sometimes been likened to an axis.¹ Namely, as the axis bears the whole weight upon itself, so this island returns all the benefit that results from the labor, or weight, of those that deliver it. And as the axis of the firmament unfailingly turns the wheels of the heavenly chariot, so the island called Osor once flourished in the beauty of men; and among the other Dalmatian islands it used to spew forth richly all possible things in great abundance.

And Bishop Gaudentius, who derived his illustrious origins not only from that nation of Osorans, but also from the rejoicing (therefore *gaudendo*) angels of the heavenly city, having cast aside his origins from the first mother Eve, longed to rejoice, as will be wonderfully revealed afterwards, from the course of events, in the hearts of those who will read or listen to the things written below.

And now let the scribe's pen turn to those things that the blessed man, holy Gaudentius, suffered in his lifetime because of his humility.

apsides, which in astronomy has the meaning of the line joining the two points of an orbit (of a planet or satellite), which are at the greatest and the least distance from the central body (the higher and the lower *apsis*). The word *apsis* also has the meaning of the hoop of the wheel, and *os* means "axis" in Croatian.

Tempore enim, quo ad pontificatum omnipotens deus ipsum sublimari voluit,¹ die noctuque in dei laudibus frequentare disposuit, ieiuniis et eleemosynis deditus erat, et in templo dei assidue hostias offerre solebat. Et nobile principium ad finem perduxit.² Cum autem insidiator generis humani in suis sanctissimis actibus (illum) circumvenire aut circumvallare non potuit, ipsum per interpositam sive subiectam sibi creaturam, ut olim primo parenti, suggerere non declinavit. Per membrum suum, nobilem immo ignobilem virum praedictae civitatis, quasi aurum per ignem, examinare ac temptare, ut illum Iob,³ cui in terris similem non invenit, sic ipse latitanter in homine iam dicto, deo permittente, connixus est.

Ordo vero temptationis talis fuisse perhibetur, ut ore suo beatus vir nostris auribus intimavit. Ille vero nobilis, quasi ignobilis est reputandus, cum quadam, quae pulchra ducebatur specie tamen consanguinea, matrimonium contra interdictum religiosissimi pontificis contrahere nixus est. In principali festo, paschae, iam divinis inchoeptis mysteriis ecclesiae limina suis cum complicitibus armata manu violenter intrare non timuit. Quem beatus Gaudentius, tanquam bonus athleta ad certamen laetus accedens, vinculo excommunicationis percussit. Quamvis ex expulsionem de ecclesia inimicus generis videtur convaluisse, nondum divina in terris peracta fuerant mysteria, dum apud omnipotentem deum in coelis suscepta credimus esse.

Tactus dolore pontifex dictus, quod id de tanta iniuria pensari debuerat, divina inspirante clementia, quae cum iniquis hominibus habitare noluerat ad totius orbis matrem mare adnatavit, ut quondam filii Israel mari rubro transmissio ad terram promissionis,⁴ scilicet Romanam ecclesiam, devenit.

¹ Gaudentius became bishop of Osor in 1020.

² Asceticism was common with the bishops of the period and Gaudentius's eremitic past, implied by the later sources, might have led him to continue with such austere practices during his episcopacy, which obviously did not disturb him in governing his local church with great decision.

Namely, at the times when almighty God wished to raise him to the bishop's office,¹ he was resolved to spend day and night praising God, devoting himself to fasting and almsgiving, and he used to make offerings assiduously in the temple of God. And he pursued this noble beginning until the end.² And when he who lies in wait for the human race could not delude or entrap him in his most holy deeds, he did not forbear to provoke him through an intermediate creature, which was subject to him, as once he had done with the first parent. With God's permission, he endeavored to test and tempt the aforesaid man like gold with fire, as he did with Job,³ to whom no equal could be found on earth, and he did it through one of his members, a noble—or better ignoble—man of that city.

The course of the temptation is said to have been the following, as the blessed man conferred with his own mouth to our ears. That nobleman is to be considered ignoble because he insisted on contracting marriage with a woman who was regarded as beautiful in appearance but was his relative, against the interdict of the most pious pontiff. On the main feast of Easter, as the divine mysteries had already begun, he did not fear to enter violently the bounds of the church with an armed band of accomplices. Whereupon the blessed Gaudentius, rushing into the battle joyfully, like a good athlete, struck him with the bond of excommunication. Even though it seems that the enemy of the human race gained strength from that expulsion from the church, we believe that the divine mysteries, although not yet completed on earth, were already accomplished by Almighty God in heaven.

The aforesaid bishop, grieving that he should be preoccupied with such injustice, and inspired by divine clemency, set sail for the mother of the whole world, just as once the sons of Israel had crossed the Red Sea to the promised land⁴: that is, he came to the church of Rome.

³ Cf. Iob 23: 10: *et probavit me quasi aurum quod per ignem transit.*

⁴ Cf. Ex 13: 18.

Ut mater filium, sic tota curia Romana ipsum recepit; et consolari per dies plurimos ac largiri sibi non destitit auxilium, quod vir dei sanctus quaesierat.

Sed denique Absarensium populum, qui maledictione dei et sancti pontificis implicati fuerant, sine pastore et correctione relinquere non permisit; et apostolicis litteris confirmatum beatum Gaudentium suam ad civitatem Absarensem papa remittere curavit.¹

Benedictione itaque suscepta apostolica, et itinere gradiente suo ad Anconitanam tandem pervenit civitatem. Prudens quidam (vir), Petrus nomine, in suam honorifice suscepit domum, qui fundator tunc fuerat Novi Portus coenobii.²

Altera vero die nutu dei, qui talem thesaurum nobis donaturus fuerat, febrilis calor corpori depositi beati Gaudentii accedere iussus est, episcopo deprecante deum, ut a labore anima ipsius ad coelum scandere possit. Sicque factum est, ut a deo dispositum fuerat. Per fundatorem supra scripti monasterii, episcopo impetrante, ad coenobium cum populo civitatis deductus est. Ubi habitum beati Benedicti solemniter recepit, et in eadem ecclesia per dies perplurimos divina concessit potentia superesse. In quibus vel inter quos dies, quando potus sibi ferebatur aquae, nimium dolorem coeperat, quod vini meri saporem in tantum suo ore susceperat, ut sibi

¹ To go on a pilgrimage to Rome in order to visit the tombs of the Apostles and to attempt an abdication was a logical move for an exiled bishop and one that Adalbert of Prague undertook as well, with the same lack of success: both Gaudentius and Adalbert obtained letters of papal approbation and were sent back to their flocks.

² This man has often been identified as Peter Damian, but without sufficient evidence. Nevertheless, Gaudentius apparently did meet at least once with this ascetic bishop and future cardinal, since the latter states in one of his letters, while speaking of Gaudentius, that he had "merited the sweetness of his acquaintance." *Venerabilis quoque Gaudentius Absarensis episcopus, cuius ego familiaritatis dulcedinem merui.* Peter Damiani, *Ep.* 72, ed. K. Reindel, *Die Briefe des Petrus Damiani*, MGH Die Briefe der deutschen Kaiserzeit 4 (Munich: MGH, 1988), 2, 330. Only the church of

The entire Roman curia received him as a mother would receive her son; and for very many days it did not cease to console him, and offered him help as the holy man of God had asked.

But eventually, it did not permit that the people of Osor, who had been struck with the curse of God and of the holy bishop, should remain without a shepherd and without correction; and the pope took care to send blessed Gaudentius back to his city of Osor, confirmed with a letter of papal authority.¹

So after receiving the apostolic benediction, Gaudentius set out on his way and eventually reached the city of Ancona. A wise man by the name of Peter, who was the founder of the coenobium of Portus Novi, received him with honor in his home.²

The next day, with the approval of God, who had been intending to make us a gift of so worthy a treasure, the heat of fever was bidden to enter the body of the entrusted blessed Gaudentius, so that the bishop prayed to God that his soul should ascend from hardship to the heavens. And so indeed it happened as God had disposed. At the bishop's request, the founder of the aforesaid monastery, together with the people of the city, brought him to the coenobium. There he solemnly received the habit of Saint Benedict, and it was granted by the might of God that he should remain in life in that church for very many days. In those days, or some of them, as they brought water to him to drink, it caused him great pain, so that it acquired in his mouth the taste of pure wine, and one could believe that the coenobite never complied to his

St Mary reminds today at the location of the monastery. It is built in a combination of Byzantine and Lombard styles, with three central naves in the form of a Latin basilica and two shorter apsed naves that serve as transepts in order to provide the layout of a Greek cross. The monastery was constantly plagued by incursions of pirates and eventually demolished in a landslide (1320) so that the monks were compelled to leave. The remnants were scattered by Napoleonic troops in 1808 and the material was used to construct a fortress, but the abandoned church survived and was restored to its original splendor at the end of the nineteenth century.

possit credi, quod nunquam suae voluntati parere coenobita voluisset.¹ Iterum atque iterum immo multipliciter ab offerentibus aquae poculum, resumpto calice, vinum degustare gaudebant, quo aegris porrecto incolumes ab infirmitatibus recedebant, impleta prophetia domini: *O mors, ero mors tua, morsus tuus ero, inferne*;² quia per febrem beatissimi viri Gaudentii febres peccatorum infirmantium destrui conspiciebantur. Cum autem placuit ei, qui eum segregavit ex utero matris suae et vocavit per gratiam suam in mundum, ad magnalia sua vocavit (eum). Iam vero imminente die transitus ipsius, vocavit ad se fratres et discipulos totius congregationis; et cruce in manibus suscepta adoravit (eam) osculo oris sui; et data cunctis pace, videntibus et astantibus omnibus assumptus est cum gloria, kalendis Junii³ apud Portum Novum. Ubi tumultus est et ubi multa praestantur beneficia, praestante domino nostro Jesu Christo, cui sit honor et gloria in saecula saeculorum. Amen.

Divisa ergo de carnis ergastulo anima ipsius ascendit ad superos, ut obsequium compraerberet, in eius ascensione. Atque tantus odor ab eius corpore resolutus est, ut omnium aromatum fumus excidisse videretur.

Nunc ad ea, quae post tumulationem corporis facta sunt, in mente animus fidelium erigatur. Ad eius namque famam e vicinis partibus magna accurrebat multitudo non solum Anconensium et Firmensium⁴ sed etiam e longinquis partibus, ut ab omnipotente deo et intercessione sancti Gaudentii sospitatem diversorum membrorum de infirmitatibus consequi possent. Et quia deus lu-

¹ That is, his wish to drink water and desist from wine. It was unfit for an ascetic to drink wine, but at the same time it was believed that sick people would regain their strength by drinking it.

² Hos 13: 14.

³ Rački has the word *pridie* in parentheses and argues that a very old copy of the manuscript had it, though not giving any specific data about it. The feast day of saint Gaudentius is today celebrated on 1 June. According to various calculations, Gaudentius died in 1044 or 1047.

wish.¹ Again and again, many times, those who offered him a cup of water, as they took back the chalice, rejoiced that he had tasted the wine, which, when administered to the sick, would make them recover from their ailments. And so the prophecy of the Lord was fulfilled: *O death, I will be thy death; O hell, I will be thy bite*²; since it could be observed that through the fever of the most blessed man Gaudentius the fevers of ailing sinners were extinguished. And when it pleased the One who separated him from his mother's womb and called him by His grace into the world, He called him to His great things. When the day of his passing away was at hand, he summoned the brothers and disciples of the entire congregation; and, taking the cross in his hands, he venerated it with the kiss of his mouth; and blessing all in peace, as they all stood there and beheld, he was taken up in glory, on the Calends of June,³ at the monastery of Portus Novi. There he was buried and many benefits of miracles were granted, which our Lord Jesus Christ bestowed, to whom be honor and glory forever and ever. Amen.

Thus the bishop's soul, separated from the dungeon of the flesh, ascended to the heavens above in order to yield service in its ascension. And such sweet odor was released from his body that it seemed as if it surpassed the smoke of all incenses.

And now the spirit of the faithful should mentally be lifted to those things that occurred after the burial of his body. A great multitude from the nearby regions hastened there drawn by his fame, not only of Anconitans and Firmensians,⁴ but also from far-away parts, in order that they might obtain from Almighty God, and through the intercession of Saint Gaudentius, deliverance from the ailments of various parts of their bodies. And since God does not permit that the light, which proceeds from Him, should lie hid-

⁴ I.e. from the town of Firmum (it. Fermo) in the province of Ascoli Piceno.

men, quod ab ipso procedit, in tenebris latere non permittit, sed ut suorum opera luceant, ut ipse dixit: *Opera, quae ego facio, et maiora horum facietis*,¹ tanta miraculorum beneficia iuxta sepulchrum beati viri facta conspiciuntur, ut conspicientibus nobis, qui adhuc supersumus, quidam, qui Philippus vocabatur, a daemonio arreptus, liberatus est; quaedam mulier Humanis,² a daemonio arrepta, liberata est; et a febribus, a paralysi, et ex aliis infirmitatibus et diversis morbis innumerabiles liberati. Supra tumulum, ubi quotidie lampades accenduntur, ipsius multoties post quarundam extinctionem ita accensae reperiuntur, ac si studiose ab aliquo accensae custodirentur. Jadrenses vero sub aliquo tempore in ecclesiam, ubi corpus beati viri requiescit, animis invalescentibus intrare contententes et linteamina extrahere et alia, quae in apparatu basilicae distensa fuerant, ibi percussi de ecclesia aliquid dilaniare, distrahere et rapere sive extrahere non potuerunt.³ Teutonici vero, qui viderunt paratam domum, magno cum exercitu ad eam descendere festinarunt. Et divino spiritu quidam accessit et liberavit domum, ad quam nullus eorum accedere potuit; et illaesa sic domus permansit. Angelorum vero chori multoties visi sunt in nocte, inter quos aspectus Gaudentii visibiliter apparuit, cantantes canticum domino.

¹ John 14: 12.

² Today Numana, a town near Ancona.

³ This reference to Zadar is rather peculiar and might even indicate a later interpolation. According to Farlati, the translation of the relics of Gaudentius to Osor took place during the fierce wars between Zadar and Ancona, which, according to the documents from Zadar, occurred in the thirteenth century. This led him to construct a somewhat curious argument about the people of Zadar transferring the body to Osor,

den in darkness, but wishes that the works of His elected should shine forth, as He himself said: *Works that I do, ye will do also, and greater works than these*,¹ great benefits of miracles can be observed at the tomb of the blessed man. We who are still living have seen how a man called Phillip, who had been seized by a demon, was liberated; a certain woman from Humana,² who was seized by a demon, was liberated; and innumerable others were delivered from fevers, paralysis, and various other ailments and illnesses. Above the tomb, where lamps are lit every day, it happens many times that, if some of them are extinguished, they are found burning again, as if someone were carefully keeping them lit. And the citizens of Zadar, who once, with hardened spirits, attempted to enter the church where the body of the blessed man reposes and to take out linen cloths and other things that were spread in adornment of the basilica, were pushed out from the church and were not able to tear, steal, rob, or remove anything.³ And the Germans, who saw the church at their disposal, set out to descend upon it with a great army. And through the Holy Ghost someone came and liberated the church and none of them could come near to it; and thus it remained intact. And many times choirs of angels have been seen in the night, singing a canticle to the Lord, and the figure of Gaudentius could be clearly discerned among them.

but burying it on the shore nearby until the peace treaty with Ancona was signed in 1256, instructing the Osorans where to find the casket. This hypothesis might have its source in an episode found in the later sources: the miraculous invention of the casket by the citizens of Osor. It should be added that Osor belonged to the metropolitan province of Zadar throughout this period. Daniele Farlati, *Illyricum Sacrum* (8 vols., Venice: Sebastian Coleti, 1751–1819), 5: 191.



Fig. 9. *The cathedral of Osor (photo © Trpimir Vedriš)*

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SELECT HAGIOGRAPHY OF THE SAINTS OF THIS VOLUME

Abbreviations:

EP=Editio princeps

CE=Critical edition

TR=Modern translations

The BHL numbers refer to *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901; repr. 1992) and *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Novum supplementum*, ed. H. Fros (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986).

ST. ADALBERT¹

1. VITA AUCTORE IOHANNE CANAPARIO (= VITA PRIOR, VITA I, VITA ANTIQUIOR, THE ROMAN VITA) [BHL 37]

Composed ca. 999 in Rome; author: Iohannes Canaparius, abbot of the Benedictine Abbey of SS. Alexius and Boniface on the Aventine mount. The original form of the text (*redactio Aventinensis prior*, the first Aventine version) is not extant. Canaparius's *vita* survives in three different versions,² which reworked the lost original.

A. The Ottonian/Imperial Version (= *Redactio imperialis uel Ottoniana*)

Inc. Est locus in partibus Germanië, *des.* reversus est unusquisque ad proprias sedes. Passus est autem ... Amen.

¹ The present overview lists all the hagiographic texts on St. Adalbert produced between the tenth and the end of the thirteenth century; only one item has been omitted, i.e., a derivative *Life* known as the *Vita In partibus Germaniæ* [BHL 43].

² The names of the three versions given here are those proposed by J. Karwasińska in her critical edition.

EP Ed. Henricus Canisius, "De sancto Adalberto Pragensi episcopo et martyre..." in idem, *Antiquae lectiones...*, vol. 5, pt. 2, Ingolstadt, 1604, 332–54 (based on ms. *Wb*).

CE Ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot pierwszy = S. Adalberti, Pragensis episcopi et martyris, vita prior*, MPH n.s. 4.1, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1962, 3–47.¹

TR Czech: Jana Zachová, "Canapariova Vojtěšská legenda Est locus" [Canaparius' Life of St. Adalbert *Est locus*], in *Slavnickovci ve středověkém písemnictví* [The Slavniks in medieval literature], ed. Rostislav Nový et al., Prague: Vyšehrad, 1987, 118–47 (based on Karwasińska's ed.).

English: Cristian Gaşpar in the present volume (based on Karwasińska's ed.).

German: Hermann Hüffer, *Das Leben des Bischofs Adalbert von Prag, Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit* 2.34, 2nd ed., Leipzig: Verlag der Dyk'schen Buchhandlung, 1891, 3–43² (based on the older edition by G. H. Pertz in MGH SS 4, Hannover, 1841, 581–95); Jürgen Hoffmann, in idem, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen* (based on his own text edition cited in n. 1) 159–79; Lorenz Weinrich, in idem, *Heiligenleben* (based both on Karwasińska's ed. and on that by Hoffmann), 27–69.

Polish: Kazimierz Abgarowicz, "Jan Kanapariusz, Świętego Wojciecha żywot pierwszy" [The first *Life of Adalbert*], in *Piśmiennictwo czasów Bolesława Chrobrego* [The literature of Bolesław the Brave's times], ed. Aleksander Gieysztor et al., Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1966, 23–86 (based on Karwasińska's ed.).³

¹ Cf. also Jürgen Hoffmann, *Vita Adalberti. Früheste Textüberlieferungen der Lebensgeschichte Adalberts von Prag* (Essen: Klartext, 2005), 125–59 and *Heiligenleben zur deutsch-slavischen Geschichte. Adalbert von Prag und Otto von Bamberg = Vitae sanctorum episcoporum Adalberti Pragensis et Ottonis Babenbergensis historiam Germanicam et Slavicam illustrantes*, ed. Lorenz Weinrich (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 2005), 27–69.

² Repr. New York: Johnson, 1971.

³ Repr. in Jan Kanapariusz, *Świętego Wojciecha żywot pierwszy*, ed. Józef Bachórz et al., Gdańsk: Wydawnictwo słowo/obraz terytoria, 2009, 47–175. For a different Polish translation, cf. Jan Kanapariusz, "Świętego Wojciecha żywot pierwszy" [The first *Life of St. Adalbert*], tr. Brigida Kürbis, in *W kręgu żywotów świętego Wojciecha* [On the Lives of St. Adalbert], ed. Jan Andrzej Spież, Cracow: TYNIEC Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 1997, 33–77.

B. The Second Aventine Version
(= *Redactio Aventinensis altera*) [BHL 37a]

Inc. Est locus in partibus Germanie, *des.* Passus est Christi martir ... feria sexta ... Amen.

EP Ed. Augustin Kolberg, "Das Lobgedicht auf den heiligen Adalbert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 7 (1879–1881): 408–95.

CE Ed. Karwasińska, *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot pierwszy*, 51–67.

C. The Monte Cassino Version
(= *Redactio Cassinensis*) [BHL 37b]

Inc. Est locus in partibus Germanię, *des.* ubi merita et uirtutes eius exuberant in hodiernum diem. Passus est autem ... Amen.

EP Ed. Abraham Bzowski (Bzovius), *Silvester II., Caesius Aquitanus pontifex maximus a calumniis vindicatus. Cui subiuncta est S. Adalberti Ursini Comitis Rosenbergi, Pragensis Episcopi ... vita et passio...*, Rome, 1629, 1–37.

CE Ed. Karwasińska, *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot pierwszy*, 71–84.

2. VITA AUCTORE BRUNONE QUERFURTENSI
(= VITA ALTERA, VITA POSTERIOR, VITA II): *PASSIO SANCTI ADELBERTI EPISCOPI ET MARTYRIS* [BHL 38]

Composed ca. 1004 (the longer version) and ca. 1008/1009 (the shorter version). Author: St. Bruno of Querfurt, member of Otto III's entourage, monk, hermit, missionary bishop, and martyr.

A. The longer version (= *Recensio longior*) [BHL 38a]

Inc. Nascitur purpureus flos, *des.* et ueniunt aurea regna immortalium sæculorum. Amen.

EP Ed. Laurentius Surius, "Vita Sancti Adalberti secundi Pragensis episcopi et martyris..." in idem, *De probatis sanctorum historiis...*, vol. 2, Cologne, 1571, 826–40.

CE Ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot drugi napisany przez Brunona z Kwerfurtu = S. Adalberti Pragensis*,

episcopi et martyris, vita altera, MPH n.s. 4.2, Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1969, 3–41.

TR Czech: Jan Vilikovsky, in Svatý Bruno z Querfurtu, *Život a utrpení svatého Vojtěcha biskupa a mučedníka* [The life and passion of St. Adalbert, bishop and martyr], Prague and Břevnov: Benediktinské opatství, 1935, 134–59.¹

German: Heinrich Gisbert Voigt, “Vita S. Adalberti,” in idem, *Brun von Querfurt, Mönch, Eremit, Erzbischof der Heiden und Märtyrer*, Stuttgart: J. F. Steinkopf, 1907, 333–76.

Hungarian: Gábor Thoroczkay, “Szent Adalbert prágai püspök és vértanú második életrajza” [The Vita II of St. Adalbert, bishop of Prague and martyr], in *Az államalapítás korának írott forrásai* [Written sources from the age of the foundation of the state], ed. Gyula Kristó, Szeged: Szegedi Középkorász Műhely, 1999, 78–82 (partial tr.).

Polish: Brigida Kürbis, “Świętego Wojciecha żywot drugi” [The second Life of St. Adalbert], in *W kręgu żywotów*, 79–134.

B. The shorter version (= *Recensio brevior*) [BHL 39]

Inc. Nascitur purpureus flos, *des.* et uenient pulchra facie immortalia secula seculorum. Amen.

EP *Alia Vita auctore altero monacho coaevo...*, in AASS *Aprilis III*, ed. G. Henschen and D. Paperbroch, Antwerp, 1675, 187–98.

CE Ed. Karwasińska, *Św. Wojciecha biskupa i męczennika żywot drugi napisany przez Brunona z Kwerfurtu*, 45–69.

TR Czech: Jana Zachová, “Brunova vojtěšská legenda Nascitur purpureus flos” [Bruno’s Life of St. Adalbert *Nascitur purpureus flos*], in *Slavníkovci ve středověkém písemnictví*, 152–85.

German: Lorenz Weinrich, in *Heiligenleben*, 70–117.

Hungarian: Gábor Thoroczkay, “Szent Adalbert prágai püspök és vértanú második életrajza,” in *Az államalapítás*, 83–4 (partial tr.).

¹ See also Bruno z Querfurtu, *Život svatého Vojtěcha: legenda Nascitur purpureus flos*, tr. Marie Kyrlová (Prague: Zvon, 1996).

3. PASSIO (= THE *PASSIO* OF TEGERNSEE):
PASSIO S. ADALPERTI MARTYRIS [BHL 40]

Composed probably in the first quarter of the eleventh century by an anonymous author, possibly of Polish provenance.

Inc. Sanctus Adalpertus primis Sclauorum natalibus Slauuinihc patre, *des.* ubi Deo prestante assiduis uirtutum in dies floret signis.

EP Ed. Wilhelm von Giesebrecht, "Eine bisher unbekannte Lebensbeschreibung des heiligen Adalbert," *Neue Preussische Provinzialblätter* 5 (1860): 71–4.

CE Ed. Anna Rutkowska-Płachcińska, "Pasje świętych Wojciecha i Brunona z tzw. kodeksu z Tegernsee" [The Martyrdoms of SS. Adalbert and Bruno in the so-called codex of Tegernsee], *Studia Źródłoznawcze* 40 (2002): 37–40.

TR *Czech*: Jana Zachová, "Anonymní legenda o utrpení svatého Vojtěcha Sanctus Adalpertus" [The anonymous legend about the martyrdom of St. Adalbert], in *Slavníkovci ve středověkém písemnictví*, 186–93.

German: Wilhelm Wattenbach, "Vom Leiden des heiligen Adalpert," in *Das Leben des Bischofs Adalbert von Prag*, 2nd ed., Leipzig: Verlag der Dyk'schen Buchhandlung, 1891, 47–52.

Hungarian: Gábor Thoroczkay, "Adalbert prágai püspök szenvedéstörténete" [The story of the martyrdom of St. Adalbert], in *Az államalapítás*, 99–101 (partial tr.).

Polish: Marian Plezia, "Męczeństwo św. Wojciecha" [The martyrdom of St. Adalbert], in idem, ed., *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda patronów Polski* [The medieval lives and miracles of the holy patrons of Poland], Warsaw: Instytut Wydawniczy Pax, 1987, 31–9.¹

4. VITA METRICA (= *VERSUS DE PASSIONE S.*
ADALBERTI) [BHL 41]

Anonymous metrical *vita* (in 1122 leonine hexameters) of disputed date (eleventh-twelfth or thirteenth centuries) and provenance (Czech or, less likely, Polish).

¹ Cf. the revised version of this translation by Brigida Kürbis, "Pasja z Tegernsee" [The *Passio* of Tegernsee], in *W kręgu żywotów*, 141–7.

Inc. Quattuor immensi iacet inter climata mundi, *des.* saecula per cuncta famulos conservet et ultra.

EP Ed. Gelasius Dobner, "Cosmae decani Pragensis versus leonini de passione S. Adalberti episcopi," in *Monumenta Historica Bohemiae*, vol. 2, Prague, 1768, 9–50.

EC Ed. Augustin Kolberg, "Das Lobgedicht auf den hl. Adalbert," *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte und Altertumskunde Ermlands* 7 (1879–1881): 408–95.¹

TR *Czech*: Ferdinand Stiebitz, "Verše o utrpení svatého Vojtěcha" [The poem about the martyrdom of St. Adalbert], in *Na úsvitu křesťanství: z naší literární tvorby doby románské v století IX.-XIII.* [At the dawns of Christianity: From our literature of the Romanesque age, 9th–13th centuries], ed. Václav Chaloupecký, Prague: Evropský literární klub, 1942, 186–218.²

German: Augustin Kolberg, "Das Lobgedicht," 408–95.

5. VITA TEMPORE ILLO (= PERLBACH VITA): DE SANCTO ADALBERTO EPISCOPO [BHL 42]

Anonymous text of Polish provenance, composed either in the last decades of the twelfth or, more probably, in the first half of the thirteenth century, before 1248.

Inc. Tempore illo, cum gentem Boemicam celestis graciae splendor, *des.* in metropolitana sollemnissime transtulit ciuitatem, ubi ad eius tumulum ... Amen.

EP Ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński in *Vitae et miracula sanctorum Poloniae patronorum Adalberti et Stanislai*, Lwow, 1883, 2–21.

CE Ed. Max Perlbach, "De S. Adalberto episcopo Pragensi," in MGH SS 15,2, Hannover: Verlag Hahnsche Buchhandlung, 1888, 1178–84.

TR *Czech*: Jana Zachová, "Anonymní vojtěšská legenda Tempore illo" [The anonymous Life of St. Adalbert *Tempore illo*], in *Slavíkovci ve středověkém písemnictví*, 240–54.

¹ See also "Verše o utrpení sv. Vojtěcha, biskupa a mučeníka" [The poem about the martyrdom of St. Adalbert, bishop and martyr], ed. J. Truhlař, in *Fontes rerum Bohemicarum*, vol. 1, Prague, 1873; repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 2004, 313–34.

² Reprinted in *Slavíkovci ve středověkém písemnictví*, 202–32.

Polish: Janina Pleziowa, "O św. Wojciechu biskupie" [On St. Adalbert the bishop], in *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda*, 49–74.¹

6. MIRACULA [BHL 44, 45]

Anonymous miracle collection which draws partly on the *vita Tempore illo*. Of Polish provenance, composed some time between ca. 1260 and 1295.

Inc. Post mortem vero non defuerunt, *des.* et gaudens ad propria est reversus, gracias agens domino ... amen; alternatively, *des.* gaudens Romam reversus. In predicta vero alma urbe ... in secula seculorum.

EP Ed. Georg Heinrich Pertz, "Miracula Sancti Adalberti martiris," in *MGH SS* 4, Hannover, 1841, 613–6.

EC Ed. Wojciech Kętrzyński, "Miracula Sancti Adalberti," in *MPH*, vol. 4, Lwow, 1884; repr. Warsaw: Państwowe Wydawnictwo Naukowe, 1961, 221–38, with variant readings pp. 904–7.

TR *Czech:* Jana Zachová, "Anonymní legenda o zázracích svatého Vojtěcha Post mortem" [The anonymous legend about the miracles of St. Adalbert *Post mortem*], in *Slavnikovci ve středověkém písemnictví*, 257–65.

Polish: Janina Pleziowa, "Cuda św. Wojciecha" [The miracles of St. Adalbert], in *Średniowieczne żywoty i cuda*, 81–95.²

THE FIVE HERMIT BRETHREN

1. VITA AUCTORE BRUNONE QUERFURTENSI (= VITA QUINQUE FRATRUM) [BHL 1147]

Composed 1005/1006 or 1008/1009 by St. Bruno of Querfurt, member of Otto III's entourage, monk, hermit, missionary bishop and martyr. Preserved in a single manuscript with minor variants on the margins, dated to the mid-twelfth century and probably originating from Saxony.

Inc. prol. Adiuva, Deus, ut magna parvus ingenio narrare, *inc.* Quem res loquitur bene venisse, sanctus iste de Benevento venit, *des.* nobis kyrieleyson dimiserunt, praestante qui propter se...

¹ Reprinted in *W kręgu żywotów*, 178–97.

² Reprinted *ibid.*, 199–213.

EP Ed. Reinhard Kade in MGH SS 15 (1888), 716–38.

CE Ed. Jadwiga Karwasińska, *Vita quinque fratrum eremitarum [seu] vita uel passio Benedicti et Iohannis sociorumque suorum auctore Brunone Querfurtensi*, in MPH s.n. 4/3, Warsaw: Państwowe wydawnictwo naukowe, 1973, 27–84.

TR English: Thomas Matus, *The Mystery of Romuald and the Five Brothers: Stories from the Benedictines & Camaldolese*, Trabuco Canyon, CA: Source Books, 1994; Marina Miladinov in the present volume.

French: Louis-Albert Lassus, “Saints Pierre Damien et Bruno de Querfurt,” in *Les écrits des saints*, Namur: Les Editions du Soleil levant, 1962, 131–217.

German: Heinrich Gisbert Voigt, *Brun von Querfurt, Mönch, Eremit, Erzbischof der Heiden und Märtyrer*, Stuttgart, 1907, 377–436.

Italian: Bernardo Ignesti, *S. Bruno di Querfurt, Vita dei Cinque Fratelli*, Camaldoli: Edizioni Camaldoli, 1951, 107–51; Edoardo Arborio Mella, *Bruno di Querfurt: Storia di cinque compagni*, Magnano: Qiqajon, 1984; Thomas Matus, *Alle origini di Camaldoli. San Romualdo e i cinque fratelli*, Camaldoli: Editioni Camaldoli, 1996; 2nd ed. 2003.

Polish: K. Abgarowicz, “Żywot Pięciu Braci Męczenników” [Life of the five martyr brethren], in *Piśmiennictwo czasów Bolesława Chrobrego* [The Literature of the Times of Bolesław Chrobry], Warsaw: Wydawnictwo Nukowe PWN, 1966, 155–246; Ewa Szwarzenberg-Czerny, *Święty Brunon z Kwerfurtu Żywot pięciu braci męczenników* [St. Bruno of Querfurt and the Life of the Five Martyr Brethren], Krakow: Tyniec Wydawnictwo Benedyktynów, 2002.

SAINTS ANDREW-ZOERARD AND BENEDICT

1. LEGENDA HEREMITARUM ZOERARDI ET BENEDICTI (= VITA AUCTORE MAURO EPISCOPO QUINQUEECCLESIENSI¹) [BHL 452]

Composed in 1064 or shortly before by Maurus, Bishop of Pécs. It has been preserved in full in five manuscripts, the oldest being from the fifteenth century.

¹ In the Ms. the denomination was erroneously written as “Quinecclesiastensi”.

Inc. Tempore illo, quo sub christianissimi Stephani regis nutu, *des.* inter angelorum choros locum possideat.

EP *Legendae Sanctorum regni Hungariae in Historia Lombardica non contentae*, Strassburg, 1486, as well as in two or three fifteenth-century editions s.l.a. Cf. Ludwig Hain, *Repertorium bibliographicum* III, Paris, 1831, 9996–8.

CE Ed. Imre Madzsar, *Vita sanctorum heremitarum Zoerardi confessoris et Benedicti martiris a beato Mauro episcopo Quinecclesiensi descripta*, in SRH 2, Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica & Societas Historica Hungarica, 1938, 357–61.

TR *English*: Marina Miladinov in the present volume.

Hungarian: Gáspár Csóka J., “Szent András és Benedek legendája” [The Legend of St. Andrew and Benedict], in *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek. Szentek a magyar középkorból* [Legends and admonitions from the Arpad age. Saints from the Hungarian Middle Ages], I. ed. Géza Érszegi, Budapest, Szépirodalmi Könyvkiadó, 1983, 13–15; 2nd ed. Budapest: Osiris, 1999, 7–11; Biró Bertalan, “A nyitrai szentek legendája” [The legend of the Nitraean saints], in idem, ed., *Magyar legendák és geszták* [Hungarian Legends and Chronicles], Budapest: Argumentum, 1997, 109–13.

Slovak: Richard Marsina, “Život svätých pustovníkov Svorada vyznávača a Benedikta mučeníka” [The Life of the Holy Hermits Zoerard the Confessor and Benedict the Martyr], in idem, ed., *Legendy stredovekého Slovenska. Ideály stredovekého človeka očami cirkevných spisovateľov* [The Legends of Medieval Slovakia. The Ideals of the Medieval Man Through the Eyes of the Church Writers], Nitra: Vydavateľstvo Rak, 1997, 35–46.

Czech: Jana Nechutová and Dagmar Bartoňková, “Život svatých poustevníků Svorada vyznavače a Benedikta mučedníka sepsaný blahoslaveným Maurem biskupem pětikostelským” [The Life of the Holy Hermits Zoerard the Confessor and Benedict the Martyr Written by Blessed Maurus, Bishop of Pécs], in Richard Pražák, ed., *Legendy a kroniky koruny uherské* [The Legends and Chronicles of the Hungarian Crown], Prague/Praha: Vyšehrad, 1988, 56–73.

Polish: tr. Stanisław Pietrzak, “Podstawowe źródła do Żywota św. Świerada – omówienie i teksty” [The Basic Sources for the Life of St. Zoerard – Overview and Texts], in idem, ed., *Święty Świerad i jego czasy. Materiały z sympozjum naukowego w Tropiu 10–11 lipca 1998* [St. Zoerard and His Times. Materials from the Scientific Symposium in Tropie, 10–11 July 1998], Nowy Sącz 2001, 291–313; [the same text in paperback popular

version: Stanisław Pietrzak, *Święci pustelnicy Świerad-Andrzej i Benedykt*, [Holy Hermits Zoerard-Andrew and Benedict] Tarnów-Tropie, 2000; also available on website: http://www.tropie.tarnow.opoka.org.pl/swieci_na_sl.htm.

BLESSED GAUDENTIUS, BISHOP OF OSOR

1. VITA BEATI GAUDENTII EPISCOPI ABSARENSIS [BHL 3273]

Work of an anonymous author, who may have been in personal contact with the saint at the monastery of St Maria Portus Novi near Ancona, in the middle or the second half of the eleventh century. Preserved in an early eighteenth-century transcription, the last sighting of the manuscript being reported from the years after World War II.

Inc. Refulgente gratia individuae Trinitatis, *des.* apud Portum Novum, ubi tumultus est, et ubi multa praestantur...

EP Ed. Daniele Farlati, in *Illyricum Sacrum* V, Venice: Sebastian Coleti, 1775, 186–7.

CE Ed. Franjo Rački, *Beati Gaudentii in absarensi episcopatu gesta, Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam spectantia*, Zagreb, 1877, doc. 219, 440–4.

TR *English*: Marina Miladinov in the present volume.

SAINT WENCESLAS

1. FIRST CHURCH SLAVONIC LIFE OF SAINT WENCESLAS

Probably composed in the 960s.

CE Ed. Josef Vajs, in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Ludmile* [The Collection of Old Slavonic Literary Monuments about St. Wenceslas and St. Ludmila] Prague: Česká akademie věd a umění, 1929, 29–43.

TR *English*: Marvin Kantor, “First Church Slavonic Life of Saint Wenceslas (Croatian-Glagolitic Redaction),” in idem, ed., *The Origins of Christi-*

anity in Bohemia. Sources and Commentary, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 1990, 59–65.

2. CRESCENTE FIDE (= PASSIO) [BHL 8823]

Composed by an anonymous author around 976–983, presumably based on a previous legend that has not survived.

Inc. Crescente fide christiana in illis diebus Dei nutu, *des.* possidete paratum vobis regnum ab initio saeculi; quod ipse praestare dignetur... Amen.

EP Ed. Beda Franziskus Dudik, in *Iter Romanum* I, Vienna, 1855, 319–26.

CE Ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, “Nově zjištěný rukopis legendy *Crescente fide* a jeho význam pro datování Kristiána” [The Newly Found Manuscript of the Legend *Crescente fide* and His Significance for the Dating of Christian], in *Listy Filologické* 6 (81) (1958), pp. 56–65.

TR *Czech*: Josef Truhlář, “Život Sv. Václava [Life of St. Wenceslas],” in Josef Emler, ed. FRB I, Prague, 1873, 183–90.

English: Marvin Kantor, “Life and Martyrdom of Saint Wenceslas (*Crescente fide*),” in idem, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia*, 143–53.

3. GUMPOLDI PASSIO SANCTI VENCESLAI [BHL 8821]

Composed most probably in the late 970s and certainly before 983 by Bishop Gumpold of Mantua.

Inc. prol. Studiorum igitur genera multiformia – *inc.* Avulsula igitur ob insecabilis sacramentum Trinitatis – *des.* latius publicando revisit.

EP Ed. Josef Dobrovský, in *Kritische Versuche, die ältere böhmische Geschichte von späteren Erdichtungen zu reinigen*, 3 (Prague, 1819), 53–115.

CE Ed. Jana Zachová, “Passio sancti Venceslai martyris,” in *Legendy Wolfenbüttelského rukopisu* [The Legends of Wolfenbüttel Manuscript], Prague: Centrum mediévistických studií, 2010, 75–90.

TR *Czech*: Frant. J. Zeubek, “Gumpoldův život Václava knížete českého” [Gumpold’s Life of Wenceslas, Duke of Bohemia], in FRB I, 146–66; Zdeněk Kristen, “Utrpení svatého Václava mučedníka” [Passion of St. Wenceslas the Martyr], in *Legendy Wolfenbüttelského rukopisu*, 114–128.

English: Marina Miladinov in the present volume.

4. LEGENDA CHRISTIANI [BHL 8825 = 5028]

The author claims to be a disciple of St. Adalbert and a monk at the monastery of Břevnov. The composition date of the legend is subject to a still unsettled, century-old debate in Czech historiography, whereby it is dated to late tenth, eleventh, mid-twelfth or even to the fourteenth century.¹

Inc. prol. Dñō... ecclesiae Dei Pragensis II pontifici Adalberto... Passio-nem b. Wenceslai simul cum avia sua, *inc.* Moravia, regio Sclavorum antiquis temporibus, *des.* Vere crucem viderat... feliciusque pervenit ad regnum... in saecula.

EP Ed. Bohuslav Balbinus, in *Epitome historica rerum Bohemicarum*, Prague, 1677, 41–65.

CE Ed. Jaroslav Ludvíkovský, *Kristiánova legenda, Život a umučení svatého Václava a jeho babý svatě Ludmily* [Christian's Legend: The life and martyrdom of Saint Wenceslas and his grandmother, Saint Ludmila] (Prague, 1978)

TR *English*: Marvin Kantor, "Life and Martyrdom of Saint Wenceslas and His Grandmother, Saint Ludmila (Legenda Christiani)," in idem, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia*, 163–203.

5. PASSIO AUCTORE LAURENTIO MONACHO
CASINENSI [BHL 8824]

Composed around 1039 by Laurentius, monk of Monte Cassino.

Inc. prol. Dñus ac redemptor noster humanis visibus, *inc.* Quidam septemtrionalis axis indigenae, *des.* quod nescimus. Haec porro tantis per scripta sunt ad laudem utique perpesque decus.

EP Ed. Beda Franziskus Dudik, in *Iter Romanum* I, Vienna, 1855, 304–18.

CE Ed. Josef Emler, in FRB 1, 167–82.

¹ On this debate see Herman Kólln, *Die Wenzelslegende des Mönchs Christian* (Copenhagen: The Royal Danish Academy of Sciences and Letters, 1996); Elena Glushko, *Medieval Challenges Modern: The Posthumous Fate of Christianus monachus and his Legend*, MA Thesis defended at the Dept. of Medieval Studies, CEU in 2006; Petr Kubín, *Sedm přemyslovských kultů* [Seven Přemyslid cults] (Prague: Katolická teologická fakulta Univerzity Karlovy v Praze, 2011), 125–50.

TR *Czech*: Josef Truhlář, "Vavřince, mnicha Sv. Benedikta, utrpení Sv. Václava" [Passion of St. Wenceslas by Lawrence, a Benedictine Monk], in FRB 1, 167–82.

6. OPORTET NOS FRATRES (= PASSIO) [BHL 8826]

Composed early in the twelfth century.

Inc. prol. Oportet nos, ff. cc., vitam et passionem s. Wenceslai, *inc.* Sub regno gloriosissimo Romanorum quondam regionem scimus esse, nomine Bohemiam, *des.* sine fine laetatur. Triumphavit vero gloriosus martyr IV kal. oct.... Amen.

EP Ed. Josef Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilalegenden und die Echtheit Christians*, Prague: A Wiesner, 1906, 389–408.

7. SECOND CHURCH SLAVONIC LIFE OF SAINT WENCESLAS¹

Composed in mid-twelfth century.

CE Ed. Josef Vajs, in *Sborník staroslovanských literárních památek o sv. Václavu a sv. Ludmile*, 69–135.

TR *English*: Marvin Kantor, "Second Church Slavonic Life of Saint Wenceslas (The Kazan Manuscript)," in idem, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia*, 67–91.

8. UT ANNUNCIETUR

The so-called *Ut annuncietur I* was composed between 1230 and 1250, and the so-called *Ut annuncietur II* before 1300.

1. Passio [BHL 8832]

Inc. Ut annuntietur in partibus Bohemiae, *des.* cui etiam ducis insignis pro victoria sit honor... Amen.

¹ Kantor also publishes a translation of the Slavonic *Prologue Life of Wenceslas*, in idem, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia*, 105–8.

II. Translatio et miracula [BHL 8833]

Inc. Miris mira altissimus volens cumulare, *des.* exprimemus aliqua. Passus est... Amen.

III. Miracula [BHL 8834]

Inc. Post translationem ss. martiris, *des.* non abnuat collocare, ubi ipse Deus Deorum laudatur... Amen.

EP ; Ed. Antonín Podlaha, *Vita sancti Wenceslai incipiens "Ut annuncietur,"* Prague: Kotrba, 1917.

CE Ed. Paul Devos, "Le dossier de S. Wenceslas dans un manuscrit du XIII^e siècle (Codex Bollandiana 433)," *Analecta Bollandiana* 82 (1964), 106–31.

II. ORIENTE IAM SOLE

The so-called *Oriente iam sole I* was composed after 1277, and the *Oriente iam sole II* after 1355.

I. [BHL 8827]

Inc. Oriente iam sole christianae religionis, *des.* et usque ad supremum desolabuntur.

II. [BHL 8828]

Inc. Post triennium vero passionis eius divina revelation, *des.* sicut in sequentibus poterit plenius considerari.

III. [BHL 8829]

Inc. Licet ex antescriptis ven. viri sanctitas, *des.* et huic opusculo inseruimus compendiose.

IV. [BHL 8830]

Inc. Quoniam in antecedentibus de fidei servo huius ducis, *des.* auxiliari nobis digneris, qui es benedictus... Amen.

EP Ed. Pekař, *Die Wenzels- und Ludmilallegenden*, 409–30.

CE Ed. Zdeněk Uhlíř, *Legenda Oriente iam sole II v hagiografické tradici třináctého až patnáctého století* [The legend *Oriente iam sole II* in the hagiographic tradition of the 13th and 15th centuries], diss. Charles' University, Prague, 1980.

TR *English*: Marvin Kantor, "Legend of Saint Wenceslas (*Oriente iam sole*)," in idem, *The Origins of Christianity in Bohemia*, 215–44.

12. AUCTORE CAROLO IV IMPERATORIS

(= CRESCENTE RELIGIONE CHRISTIANA) [BHL 8842]¹

Composed before 1350.

Inc. Crescente religione cristiana, divina favore clementia, *des.* pessimis plagis percussi sunt.

CE Ed. Anton Blaschka, *Die St. Wenzelslegende Kaiser Karls IV. Einleitung/ Texte / Kommentar*. (Quellen und Forschungen aus dem Gebiet der Geschichte, 14), Prague: Deutsche Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und Künste für die Tschechoslowakische Republik, 1934; ed. Balázs Nagy, in *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita ab eo ipso conscripta et Hystoria nova de sancto Wenceslao martyre. Autobiography of Emperor Charles IV and his Legend of St. Wenceslas*, with an introduction by Ferdinand Seibt, Budapest: Central European University Press, 2001 (Central European Medieval Texts, 2), 184–208.

TR *English*: Frank Schaer, "Emperor Charles IV – Legend of St. Wenceslas," in Nagy, ed. *Karoli IV Imperatoris Romanorum Vita*, 185–209.

German: Anton Blaschka, in idem, ed., *Kaiser Karls IV. Jugendleben und St. Wenzelslegende*, Weimar: Hermann Böhlau Nachfolger, 1956, 113–26.

¹ Of the rich late medieval sermon-literature we cannot include here a documentation—cf. Giulia Barone, "Les Épitomés dominicains de la vie de saint Wenceslas," in *Faire croire. Modalités de la diffusion et de la réception des messages religieux du XII^e au XV^e siècle (Table Ronde, Roma, 1979)* (Roma: École française de Rome, 1981), 167–87.

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